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W. T. RAYNAL. F.R.S
Member of the Academy of Sciences
& Belle Lettres of Prussia.
Bannerman sculp.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M.A.

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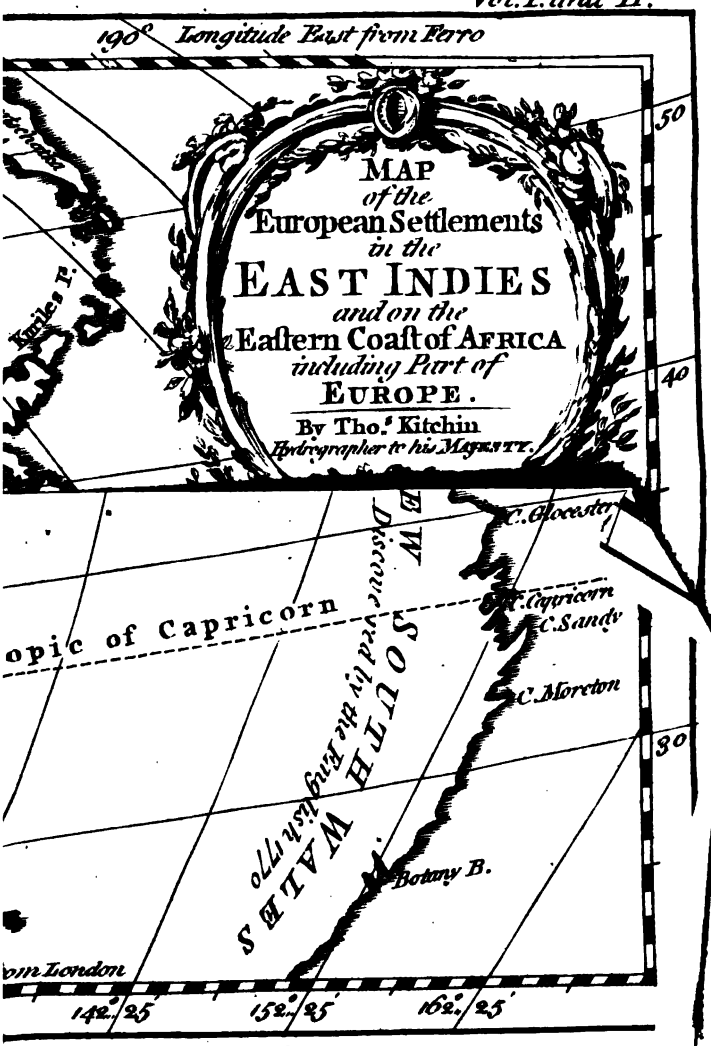
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of the
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in the
EAST INDIES
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including Part of
EUROPE.
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A

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BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

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The diſcoveries, wars, and conqueſts of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies.

NO event has been ſo intereſting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the diſcovery of the new world, and the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. It gave riſe to a revolution in the commerce, and in the power of nations; and in the manners, induſtry, and government of the whole world. At this period, new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the moſt diſtant regions, for the ſupply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates ſituated under the equator, were conſumed in countries bordering on the pole; the induſtry of the north was tranſplanted to the ſouth; and the

inhabitants of the weſt were cloathed with the manufactures of the eaſt; a general intercourſe of opinions, laws and cuſtoms, diſeaſes and remedies, virtues and vices, was eſtabliſhed among men.

EVERY thing has changed, and muſt change again. But it is a queſtion, whether the revolutions that are paſſed, or thoſe which muſt hereafter take place, have been, or can be of any utility to the human race? Will they ever add to the tranquillity, the happineſs, and the pleaſures of mankind? Can they improve our preſent ſtate, or do they only change it?

THE Europeans have founded colonies in all parts, but are they acquainted with the principles on which they ought to be formed? They have eſtabliſhed a commerce of exchange, of the productions of the earth and of manufactures. This commerce is transferred from one people to another. Can we not diſcover by what means, and in what ſituations this has been effected? Since America and the paſſage by the Cape has been known, ſome nations that were of no conſequence are become powerful: others, that were the terror of Europe, have loſt their authority. How has the condition of theſe ſeveral people been affected by theſe diſcoveries? How comes it to paſs that thoſe to whom Nature has been moſt liberal, are not always the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing? To throw ſome light on theſe important queſtions, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of Europe before theſe diſcoveries were made; we muſt trace circumſtantially the events they have given riſe to; and conclude

conclude with examining it, as it preſents itſelf at this day.

THE commercial ſtates have civilized all others. The Phœnicians, whoſe extent of country and influence were extremely limited, acquired by their genius for naval enterpriſes, an importance which ranked them foremoſt in the hiſtory of the antient nations.

THEY are mentioned by writers of every claſs. They were known to the moſt diſtant climes, and their fame has been tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages.

SITUATED on a barren coaſt, ſeparated from the continent by the Mediterranean on the one ſide, and the mountains of Libanus on the other; they ſeem to have been deſtined by Nature for the dominion of the ſea. Fiſhing taught them the art of navigation, and furniſhed them with the purple dye which they extracted from the murex: at the ſame time the ſea-ſand led them to diſcover the ſecret of making glaſs. Happy in poſſeſſing ſo few natural advantages, ſince the want of theſe awakened that ſpirit of invention and induſtry, which is the parent of arts and opulence!

IT muſt be confeſſed, that the ſituation of the Phœnicians was admirably adapted to extend their commerce to every part of the world. By inhabiting, as it were, the confines of Africa, Aſia, and Europe, if they could not unite the inhabitants of the globe in one common intereſt, they at leaſt had it in their power, by a commercial intercourſe, to communicate to every nation the enjoyments of all climates. But the antients whom

we have ſo often excelled, though we have derived much uſeful knowledge from them, had not means ſufficient to enable them to eſtabliſh an univerſal commerce. The Phœnicians had no ſhipping except gallies; they only carried on a coaſting trade, and their ſailing was confined to the Mediterranean. Though this ſtate was the model upon which other maritime powers were formed, it is not ſo eaſy to determine what they have, as what they might have performed. We may form a conjecture of their population by their colonies. It is ſaid that their numbers extended along the coaſts of the Mediterranean, particularly on the ſhores of Africa.

TYRE or Sidon, the queen of the ocean, gave birth to Carthage. While the opulence of Tyre invited tyrants to rivet its fetters, Carthage, the offspring of Tyre, notwithſtanding its riches, had this happy advantage over the parent ſtate, that it enjoyed its liberty. It commanded the coaſts of Africa, and had poſſeſſion of Spain, which in thoſe days was the richeſt country in Europe, and famous for gold and ſilver mines of its own, though deſtined, at the expence of ſo much bloodſhed, to acquire others in the new world.

HAD the Roman power never exiſted, Carthage would in all probability have been nothing more than a commercial ſtate; but the ambition of one nation excited all the reſt to relinguiſh the arts of commerce for thoſe of war, and either to conquer or to periſh. Carthage, after a long and glorious conteſt for the empire of the world, was forced to ſubmit to the all-ſubduing genius of Rome. The

ſubverſion

ſubverſion of a republic, which gloried in its induſtry, and owed its power to its ſkill in uſeful arts, was, perhaps, a misfortune to Europe, and to the world in general.

GREECE, interſected every where by ſeas, muſt neceſſarily flouriſh by commerce. Its poſition in the Archipelago, and its diſtance from any large continent, ſeemed to make it unlikely that it ſhould either conquer or be conquered. Situated between Aſia and Europe, it contributed to civilize both the one and the other, and enjoyed a deſerved ſhare of proſperity, as the reward of its ſervices. As almoſt all the Greeks came either from Egypt or Phœnicia, they brought along with them the knowledge and induſtry of thoſe countries; but of all the Aſiatic colonies, thoſe were the moſt flouriſhing and happy, that had a turn for commerce.

ATHENS employed her firſt ſhips either in carrying on a trade with Aſia, or in planting as many colonies as Greece in her infancy might have received from thence: but theſe emigrations involved them in wars. The Perſians, living under an arbitrary government, would not even ſuffer any free people to ſettle on the confines of the ſea; and the Satraps inculcated into the great king, the doctrine of univerſal ſlavery. This was the ſource of all the wars in Aſia Minor, where the Athenians found means to make all the inſular and maritime ſtates either their allies or their ſubjects. Athens enlarged her commerce by her victories, and her power by her commerce. All the arts made their appearance in Greece at the ſame time, together with the luxury of Aſia.

COMMERCE, agriculture, and the means of population, were introduced into Sicily by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Rome, who beheld their progreſs with a jealous eye, ſeized upon that iſland which was deſtined to ſupply it with ſubſiſtence; and having driven out the two nations that contended for the ſovereignty of it, attacked firſt one, and then the other. From the moment that Carthage was deſtroyed, Greece trembled for her fate. But it was Alexander who marked the way for the Romans; nor was it poſſible, perhaps, that the Greeks could have been ſubdued by a foreign power, if they had not firſt conquered each other. Commerce is finally deſtroyed by the riches it accumulates, as power is by its own conqueſts; and when the commerce of the Greeks had failed in the Mediterranean, it no longer ſubſiſted in any part of the known world.

THE Greeks, by improving upon all the ſciences and arts they had received from the Egyptians and Tyrians, elevated human reaſon to a high degree of perfection: but it has been reduced ſo low by the ſubſequent revolutions of empires, that in all probability it will never riſe again to the ſame ſtandard. Their admirable inſtitutions were ſuperior to the beſt we have at this day. The plan upon which they founded their colonies does honour to their humanity. As all the arts owed to them their riſe, and perfection, they did not ſurvive the fate of their protectors: It is evident from ſome works of Xenophon, that the Greeks were better acquainted with the principles of trade, than moſt modern nations are at preſent.

IF

If we conſider that the Europeans have the advantage of all the knowledge of the Greeks, that their commerce is infinitely more extenſive, that ſince the improvements in navigation, their ideas are directed to greater, and more various objects; it is aſtoniſhing that they ſhould not have the moſt palpable ſuperiority over them. But it muſt be obſerved, that when theſe people arrived at the knowledge of the arts and of trade, they were juſt produced as it were from the hands of nature, and had all the powers neceſſary to improve the talents ſhe had given them: whereas the European nations had the misfortune to be reſtrained by laws, by government, and by an excluſive and imperious religion. In Greece the arts of trade met with men, in Europe with ſlaves. Whenever the abſurdities of our inſtitutions have been pointed out, we have taken pains to correct them, without ever daring totally to overthrow the edifice. We have remedied ſome abuſes, by introducing others; and, in our efforts to ſupport, reform and palliate, we have adopted more contradictions and abſurdities in our manners, than are to be found among the moſt barbarous people. For this reaſon, if the arts ſhould ever gain admiſſion among the Tartars and Iroquois, they will make an infinitely more rapid progreſs among them, than they can ever do in Ruſſia and Poland.

The Romans, formed for conqueſt, though they dazzled the world with an appearance of grandeur, fell ſhort of the Greeks in their improvements in philoſophy, and the arts. They promoted an intercourſe between different nations, not by uniting them

by the ties of commerce, but by impoſing upon them the ſame yoke of ſubordination. They ravaged the globe, which, when reduced to ſubjection, they left in a ſtate rather of lethargy than tranquillity. Their deſpotiſm and military government oppreſſed the people, extinguiſhed the powers of genius, and degraded the human race.

CONSTANTINE paſſed two laws, which, though Monteſquieu has not ventured to reckon them among the cauſes of the declenſion of the empire, threw every thing into ſtill greater diſorder. The firſt, dictated by imprudence and fanaticiſm, though it appeared to be the effect of humanity, affords a proof that great innovations are often attended with great danger; and that the original rights of mankind cannot always be made the ſtandard of government. By this law, all ſlaves who ſhould embrace chriſtianity, were allowed their freedom. Thus, while thoſe who had hitherto dragged on a precarious exiſtence were reinſtated in their primitive rights, the ſtate was weakened; becauſe the proprietors of large tracts of land were deprived of the number of hands neceſſary for their improvement, and were for ſome time reduced to the extremeſt indigence. On the other hand, the new converts, having no property themſelves, or any certain means of ſubſiſtence, were not in a condition to aſſiſt the government, in repairing the injury it had done to their maſters. It is equally impoſſible that they ſhould have any attachment to a ſtate which did not afford them ſubſiſtence, or to a religion, which the irreſiſtible deſire of liberty alone induced them to embrace,

embrace. By another edict, paganiſm was prohibited throughout the whole empire; and thus theſe extenſive dominions were inhabited by men, whoſe attachment to each other, and to the ſtate, was no longer ſecured by the ſolemn ſanctions of religion: having no prieſts, no temples, no public morals, they had no motives to excite them to repel an enemy who ſhould attack a government with which they were no longer connected.

The inhabitants of the north, therefore, when they fell upon the empire, found every thing ready to favour their invaſion. Haraſſed in Poland and in Germany by ſome nations who had migrated from Great Tartary, they took a temporary poſſeſſion of certain provinces already ruined, till they were expelled by ſucceeding conquerors of a ſtill more ferocious diſpoſition than themſelves. When theſe barbarians determined to ſettle in the regions they had laid waſte, they divided countries which the Romans had formerly united. From that moment, all communication between thoſe ſtates eſtabliſhed by accident, neceſſity or caprice, was at an end. The ſwarms of pirates that infeſted the ſeas, together with the fierce diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the frontiers, diſcouraged every connection that mutual convenience might render neceſſary. The ſubjects of each ſtate, however ſmall in extent, were ſeparated from each other by inſurmountable obſtacles; for the banditti who infeſted the roads, made a journey of any length a dangerous expedition. The nations of Europe, thus plunged a ſecond time by ſlavery and deſpair into that ſtate of

inſenſibility

inſenſibility and indolence, which muſt for many ages have been the ſtate of the human race, derived little advantage from the fertility of their ſoil; and their induſtry was exhauſted in the employments of a ſavage life; tracts of country at no great diſtance, were to them of as little importance, as if they had not exiſted: nor had they any further knowledge of their neighbours, than as they happened to excite their fears or their enmity.

The accounts given by ſome authors of the wealth and ſplendour of the ſeventh century, are as fabulous as all the other miraculous things we read of in the hiſtory of thoſe times. The cloathing then in uſe was of ſkin and coarſe woollen, the conveniences of life were not known; buildings indeed were erected with ſtrength and ſolidity, but which conveyed no idea, either of the affluence or taſte of the age. Neither much money, nor much knowledge of the arts is required to pile up heaps of ſtone by the hands of ſlaves. One inconteſtible proof of the indigence of the people was, that taxes were levied in kind; and that even the contributions which the inferior clergy paid to their ſuperiors, conſiſted of proviſions.

The ſuperſtition that prevailed increaſed the general darkneſs. In the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, Rome, no longer the capital of the maſters of the univerſe, attempted to exerciſe her authority as before, in depoſing or making kings. Deprived of inhabitants and ſoldiers, by dint of opinions and religious tenets alone, ſhe aſpired to univerſal monarchy. By her management princes were

were excited to take up arms againſt each other, people againſt their kings, and kings againſt their people. All merit conſiſted in making war, and all virtue in obeying the church. The dignity of monarchs was degraded by the claims of Rome, which inſpired a contempt for princes, without exciting the love of liberty. Literature was then compriſed in a few abſurd romances, and ſome melancholy tales, the offspring of cloiſtered indolence. This contributed to entertain that dejection of ſpirit, and that propenſity to the marvelous, ſo favourable to the intereſts of ſuperſtition.

The face of the globe was again changed by two other nations. A people pouring in from Scandinavia and the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus ſpread themſelves to the north of Europe, which on the ſouthern ſide was haraſſed by the Arabs. The former were diſciples of Wodin, the latter of Mohammed; men who had equally diffuſed the fanaticiſm of conqueſt with that of religion. Charlemagne ſubdued one of theſe nations, and maintained his ground againſt the other. Theſe inhabitants of the north, called Saxons or Normans, were indigent, ill armed, and undiſciplined, of ſavage manners, and driven to combat and to death by miſery and ſuperſtition. Charlemagne was deſirous of compelling them to change that religion which rendered them ſo terrible, for another which would diſpoſe them to obedience. He was obliged to wade through ſeas of blood, and the croſs was erected on heaps of ſlain. He was leſs ſucceſsful againſt the Arabs, conquerors of Aſia, Africa and Spain, and could

could not gain a footing beyond the Pyrenean mountains.

The neceſſity of repulſing the Arabs, but eſpecially the Normans, occaſioned the revival of naval ſkill in Europe. Charlemagne in France, Alfred the Great in England, and ſome cities of Italy, built ſhips; and theſe firſt attempts towards navigation revived for a ſhort time maritime commerce. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed great fairs, the principal of which was at Aix-la-Chapelle. This is the method of trading among people where commerce is ſtill in its infancy.

The Arabs, however, laid the foundations of the moſt extenſive commerce that had been known ſince the times of Athens and Carthage. It is true, this was not ſo much owing to the lights of cultivated reaſon, and to the progreſs of a good adminiſtration, as to the extent of their power, and the nature of the country they poſſeſſed. Maſters of Spain, of Africa, of Aſia Minor, of Perſia, and part of India, they introduced reciprocal exchanges, from one region to another, of the commodities in different parts of their vaſt empire. They extended themſelves gradually as far as the Moluccas and to China, ſometimes as traders, ſometimes as miſſionaries, frequently as conquerors.

Soon after this, the Venetians, Genoeſe and Arabs of Barcelona went to Alexandria to buy up the merchandiſe of Africa and India, and diſpoſed of it in Europe. The Arabs, enriched by commerce, and ſated with conqueſt, were no longer the ſame people who burnt the Alexandrian library.

They

They cultivated the arts and polite literature, and are diſtinguiſhed from other conquering nations by their improvements of the reaſon and induſtry of men. To them we owe the ſciences of algebra and chymeſtry, new diſcoveries in aſtronomy, new improvements in mechanics and medicine, unknown to the ancients. But among the fine arts, poetry is the only one they have cultivated with ſucceſs.

At the ſame period, the ſubjects of the Greek empire imitated the manufactures of Aſia; and had, through various channels, monopolized the riches of India. But the advantages they derived from both theſe circumſtances, could not ſurvive the fate of their empire; which had nothing to oppoſe to the heroic and daring enthuſiaſm of the Arabs, but the weak and unmanly weapons of ſcholaſtic logic, and the controverſial armour of monks; who had gained ſuch an aſcendant, that the Emperor uſed to aſk God pardon for the time he employed in affairs of ſtate. Painting and ſculpture were no longer known, and it was matter of eternal diſpute whether images ought, or ought not, to be worſhipped. The Greeks, ſurrounded by the ocean, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands, had yet no maritime forces; they defended themſelves againſt the naval power of Egypt and of the Saracens by wild fire; the vain and precarious defence of a degenerate people. Conſtantinople, not being in a condition to protect her maritime trade at a diſtance, reſigned it to the Genoeſe, who ſeized upon Caffa, which they made a flouriſhing city.

THE nobility of Europe acquired a tincture of the manners of the Greeks and Arabs in their ridiculous expeditions of the cruſades. They became acquainted with their arts and their luxury; which were afterwards almoſt neceſſary to their happineſs. The Venetians had a more extenſive demand for the goods they brought from the eaſt; and the Arabs themſelves carried ſome of them into France, England, and even into Germany.

THESE powers had at that period neither ſhipping nor manufactures: they laid reſtraints upon commerce, and the character of a merchant was held in contempt. This uſeful ſet of men were never reſpected among the Romans. They treated their merchants with as much contempt as their players, courteſans, baſtards, ſlaves and gladiators. The political ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed throughout Europe by the power and ignorance of the northern nations, muſt neceſſarily have confirmed a prejudice which owed its riſe to a barbarous pride. Our anceſtors had the abſurdity to adopt, as the baſis of their government, a principle deſtructive of all ſociety; a contempt for uſeful labour. The only perſons held in any degree of eſtimation were the lords of manors, or ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle. The nobles, it is well known, were ſo many petty ſovereigns who abuſed their own power, and oppoſed that of the monarch. The barons were fond of parade, avaritious, whimſical and poor. Sometimes they invited the merchants into their little ſtates and at others, extorted money from them. In theſe barbarous times were eſtabliſhed the ſeveral duties of tolls,

tolls, of export and import, of paſſage, of quarters, of eſcheat, and other oppreſſions without number. All the bridges and highways were opened or ſtopped up at the will of the prince or his vaſſals. The firſt elements of commerce were ſo totally unknown, that it was cuſtomary to fix the price of commodities. The merchants were often pillaged, and always ill paid by the knights and barons. Trade was carried on in caravans or companies, which went armed to the places where the fairs were kept. At theſe marts the merchants omitted nothing that might engage the favour of the people. They were generally accompanied by jugglers, muſicians and buffoons. As there were then no large towns, and neither public ſpectacles and meetings, nor the ſedentary pleaſures of private ſociety were known, the fair time was the ſeaſon for diverſions, which, degenerating into diſſoluteneſs, gave a ſanction to the invectives and ſeverities of the clergy. The traders were frequently excommunicated. The people held thoſe ſtrangers in aborrence, who ſupplied their tyrants with ſuperfluities, and aſſociated with men, whoſe manners were ſo repugnant to their prejudices and rude auſterity of life. The Jews, who ſoon engaged in all the branches of commerce, did not bring it into repute. They were then conſidered in the ſame light throughout all Europe, as they are at this day in Poland and Turky. As their fortunes were increaſing every day, they were enabled to advance money to merchants and tradeſmen; for which they demanded intereſt equivalent to the riſque they ran in veſting their

capital in other hands. The ſchoolmen were violent in oppoſing this neceſſary meaſure, which their rude prejudices had taught them to condemn. This theological determination of a point of a civil and political nature, was attended with ſtrange conſequences. The magiſtrates, blinded by an authority, againſt even the unjuſt exerciſe of which no one dared to appeal, denounced ſentence of confiſcation and ignominious penalties againſt uſury, which, in thoſe dark ages, the laws did not diſtinguiſh from the moſt moderate intereſt. It was at this juncture, that to make themſelves amends for the dangers and mortifications they were expoſed to in carrying on a commerce, which was looked upon as odious and unlawful, the Jews abandoned themſelves to the moſt exceſſive rapacity. They were held in univerſal deteſtation. Perſecuted, pillaged, and proſcribed, they invented bills of exchange, which ſecured the remains of their fortunes. The clergy declared the exchange uſurious, but it was of too great utility to be aboliſhed. One of the effects it produced was to make the merchants more independent of the prince, who treated them better, apprehending that they might tranſport their riches into foreign countries.

The Italians, who are better known by the name of Lombards, were the firſt who took advantage of this early change of ideas. They formed ſmall communities, and procured the protection of ſome ſtates, who, on their account, diſpenſed with the laws againſt ſtrangers, which had been made in the barbarous ages. By virtue of

of this indulgence, they became agents for all the ſouthern parts of Europe.

THE inhabitants of the north began likewiſe to awake from their lethargy: but their recovery was later, and effected with greater difficulty. Hamburgh and Lubec having attempted to open a trade in the Baltic, were obliged to unite for their mutual defence againſt the pirates who infeſted thoſe latitudes. The ſucceſs of this little combination encouraged other towns to enter into the confederacy; in a ſhort time, this was compoſed of fourſcore cities, which had either obtained or purchaſed the privilege of being governed by their own laws, and formed a line of communication from the Baltic to the Rhine. This aſſociation, which was the firſt modern one that adopted a regular ſyſtem of commerce, ſupplied the Lombards with naval ſtores and other merchandiſe of the north, in exchange for the produce of Aſia, Italy, and the other ſouthern countries.

FLANDERS was the ſcene of theſe happy tranſactions; but it was not to its ſituation alone that it owed a diſtinction ſo favourable to its intereſts: this muſt likewiſe be attributed to its numerous manufactures of fine cloth, and particularly of tapeſtry; which laſt affords a convincing proof how little the arts of drawing and perſpective were then known. By theſe advantageous circumſtances, the Low-Countries became the richeſt, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated part of Europe.

THE flouriſhing condition of the inhabitants of Flanders, the Hanſe Towns, and ſome republics, who owed their proſperity to their freedom, engaged the attention of moſt of the reigning monarchs, in whoſe dominions the rights of citizens had hitherto been confined to the nobility and clergy; the reſt of their ſubjects were ſlaves. But as ſoon as the cities were declared free, and had large immunities granted them, the merchants and mechanics entered into aſſociations, which roſe in eſtimation as they acquired riches. The ſovereigns oppoſed theſe aſſociations to the barons. Thus anarchy and feudal tyranny gradually decreaſed. The tradeſmen became citizens, and the third ſtate was reſtored to the privilege of being admitted to the national aſſembly.

MONTESQUIEU attributes to Chriſtianity the honour of having aboliſhed ſlavery; but we venture to differ from him. When induſtry and riches prevailed among the people, the princes began to hold them in ſome eſtimation; when the ſovereign could avail himſelf of the riches of the people to gain advantages over the barons, laws were framed to put the people in a better condition. It was through that ſound policy, which commerce always introduces, and not through the ſpirit of the Chriſtian Religion, that kings were induced to beſtow freedom upon the ſlaves of their vaſſals, becauſe thoſe ſlaves, when made free, became ſubjects. It is true, that Pope Alexander III. declared that Chriſtians were to be exempt from ſervitude; but this declaration was made merely to pleaſe the kings of France and

England, who were deſirous of humbling their vaſſals. BOOK I.

In Italy one might perceive the dawning of more proſperous days. The republics of Piſa, Genoa and Florence, were eſtabliſhed on the wiſeſt principles; the factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which had for ſo many ages laid waſte theſe delightful countries, were at length appeaſed; trade flouriſhed, and conſequently learning would ſoon be introduced. Venice was in the height of its glory; its navy, which eclipſed that of its neighbours, checked the progreſs of the maritime power of the Mammelucs, and the Turks; in commerce it was ſuperior to all the European ſtates taken together; its inhabitants were numerous, and its riches immenſe; the revenues were well managed, and the people were content; the republic borrowed money of the richer ſubjects, from motives not of neceſſity, but of policy. The Venetians were the firſt people who found out the ſecret of attaching rich individuals to the intereſt of government, by inviting them to veſt ſome part of their fortune in the public funds. At Venice there were manufactures of ſilk, gold and ſilver; it ſupplied foreigners with ſhips: its works in gold and ſilver were the beſt, and almoſt the only ones of that time. The inhabitants were even accuſed of extravagance in having gold and ſilver plate, and other utenſils of the ſame materials. They were not, however, without ſumptuary laws; but theſe laid no reſtraint on a ſpecies of luxury by which the ſums expended were preſerved to the

ſtate. The noblemen united œconomy with ſplendour; the opulence of Venice revived the architecture of Athens, and upon the whole there was magnificence as well as elegance in their luxury; the people were ignorant, but the nobles were enlightened; the government oppoſed the attempts of the popes with firmneſs and prudence: *Siamo Venezigni, poi Chriſtiani*, ſaid one of their ſenators, who expreſſed in theſe words the ſenſe of the whole ſenate; for at that early period they debaſed the prieſthood, though they ſhould rather have made it uſeful to morality; which, however, was more rigid and pure among the Venetians than among the other people of Italy. Their troops were very different from thoſe miſerable *Condottieri*, whoſe name was ſo much more terrible than their arms. Venice was the ſeat of politeneſs; and ſociety was then under leſs reſtraint from the ſpies of government, than it has been ſince the republic began to be jealous of the power of its neighbours, and to be diffident of its own ſtrength.

In the fifteenth century, Italy far ſurpaſſed the other ſtates of Europe. Religious zeal, which ſupplied the place of merit, and occaſioned ſo many trifling ceremonies and cruel oppreſſions, was, however, the means of releaſing Spain from the Arabian yoke; its ſeveral provinces had lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and the conqueſt of Granada; and its power was even equal to that of France. The fine wool of Caſtile and Leon was manufactured at Segovia, and their cloths were ſold all over Europe, and even in Aſia; the perpetual efforts

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the Spaniards were obliged to make to preſerve their liberty, inſpired them with reſolution and confidence; their ſucceſs had elevated their minds, and, being ignorant, they abandoned themſelves to all the enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion. Confined to a peninſula, and having no immediate intercourſe with other nations, they entertained that contempt for them, which, either among individuals or communities, is uſually the characteriſtic of ignorance. They were the only people that maintained a ſtanding body of infantry, which was excellent. As the Spaniards for many ages had been involved in war, their ſoldiery was indiſputably ſuperior to that of the other ſtates of Europe.

THE Portugueſe had much the ſame diſpoſitions; but their monarchy was better regulated than that of Caſtile, and the adminiſtration was conducted with more eaſe after the reduction of the Moors by the conqueſt of Algarva.

IN France, Lewis XI. had juſt lowered the power of the great vaſſals, raiſed that of the magiſtracy, and made the nobles ſubject to the laws. The people of France growing leſs dependent on their lords, muſt neceſſarily become, in a ſhort time, more induſtrious, more active, and more reſpectable; but induſtry and commerce could not flouriſh on a ſudden. Reaſon muſt of courſe make but a ſlow progreſs in the midſt of thoſe commotions which were ſtill excited by the great, and under the reign of a prince devoted to the moſt abominable ſuperſtition. The barons were diſtinguiſhed only by their ſavage haughtineſs; their

revenues were ſcarce ſufficient to entertain in their ſuite a train of gentlemen without employment, who defended them againſt the ſovereign and the laws. The expences of their table were immoderate; and this ſavage luxury, of which there are ſtill too many remains, afforded no encouragement to any of the uſeful arts. But neither the manners nor the language of thoſe times partook of that decency which diſtinguiſhes the ſuperior ranks of citizens, and procures them reſpect from the reſt. Notwithſtanding the courteſy enjoined to the knights, coarſe and rough manners ſtill prevailed among the great; the nation had then the ſame character of inconſiſtence it has ſince preſerved, and which a nation will ever have, whoſe morals and cuſtoms are not conformable to the laws. The councils iſſued innumerable, and frequently contradictory edicts, but the prince readily diſpenſed with the obſervance of them. By this eaſy diſpoſition of the ſovereign, the inconveniences which would have ariſen from a multitude of laws inconſiderately made by the French miniſtry, have been happily prevented.

England, leſs opulent, and leſs induſtrious than France, was compoſed of inſolent barons, deſpotic biſhops, and a people who were tired of their yoke; a certain reſtleſs diſpoſition prevailed in the nation, which muſt neceſſarily ſooner or later introduce liberty. This character owed its riſe to the abſurd tyranny of William the Conqueror, and the cruel diſpoſition of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors. The intolerable abuſe of power had made the

Engliſh

Engliſh extremely jealous of their ſovereigns; the very name of king carried with it the idea of terror; and theſe ſentiments, tranſmitted from father to ſon, afterwards laid the foundations of that form of government they now have the happineſs to enjoy. The long contention between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, while it raiſed a martial ſpirit and an impatience of ſlavery, involved the nation, at the ſame time, in poverty and confuſion. The Engliſh wool was then manufactured in Flanders, and was exported, as well as its lead and tin, in veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns. The principles of navigation, of internal policy, juriſprudence, luxury, and the fine arts were entirely unknown in England; at the ſame time that it was overburthened with a multitude of rich convents and hoſpitals. Theſe convents were the uſual reſort of the diſtreſſed nobles, as the hoſpitals were of the common people; idleneſs and barbarous manners were encouraged by theſe ſuperſtitious inſtitutions.

GERMANY, which had long been haraſſed by quarrels between the emperors and the popes, and by inteſtine wars, had at this time begun to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity; order had taken place of anarchy, and the inhabitants of this extenſive country, who, though ſtrangers to wealth and commerce, were verſed in the arts of war and agriculture, had nothing to fear from their neighbours, neither could they be formidable to them. The feudal ſyſtem, ſo fatal to mankind in other countries, here aſſumed a milder aſpect; the princes preſiding over this vaſt extent of territory, gene-

rally ſpeaking, governed their reſpective ſtates with a good deal of moderation; they ſeldom abuſed their authority, and if the peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates could compenſate the want of liberty, the Germans were happy; commerce and induſtry were entirely confined to the free cities, and to the towns included in the Hanſeatic league; the mines of Hanover and Saxony were not yet diſcovered; ſilver was ſcarce; the farmer ſold a few horſes to ſtrangers, nor had the princes yet introduced the traffic of the human ſpecies; the expences of the table, and a variety of equipages were the only articles of luxury; the nobles and the clergy intoxicated themſelves, without diſturbing the government; it was with ſome difficulty that the gentry were diſſuaded from amuſing themſelves with robbing on the highways; their manners were ſavage, and during the two ſucceeding centuries the German troops were more diſtinguiſhed by their cruelties than by their diſcipline and bravery.

THE northern countries had made leſs progreſs than Germany. Oppreſſed by the nobles and prieſts, the inhabitants no longer retained that enthuſiaſtic love of glory with which the religion of Wodin had formerly inſpired them; nor were they yet acquainted with thoſe wiſe inſtitutions which ſome of them have ſince borrowed from better forms of government. Their power was ſo inconſiderable, that a ſingle Hanſe Town was capable of intimidating the three potentates of the north. They recovered their national importance

after the reformation, and under the auſpices of Frederic and Guſtavus Vaſa.

THE Turks were ſtrangers to the ſcience of government: they had no knowledge of the arts, nor taſte for commerce: but the Janiſſaries were the beſt troops in the world. Theſe attendants of a deſpot whom they kept in awe, at the ſame time that they inſured reſpect to him whom they placed upon the throne or ſtrangled at pleaſure, had at that time ſome great men for their leaders. They ſubverted the empire of the Greeks, who were infatuated with theology, and ſtupified by ſuperſtition. Some of the inhabitants of this mild climate, who cultivated literature and the arts, abandoned their country after it was ſubdued, and took refuge in Italy; whither they were followed by artiſts and traders. Tranquillity, peace, proſperity, the ambition of excelling in every accompliſhment, and the deſire of new pleaſures, which is inſpired by good governments, favoured the revival of letters in the country of the ancient Romans; and it was from the Greeks that the Italians derived a better knowledge of good models, and a taſte for antiquity. The art of printing was invented; and though for a long time the diſcovery was of little uſe while the people continued in a ſtate of poverty and indolence, yet when commerce and the arts had made ſome progreſs, books became more common. A love of ſtudy prevailed, and the ancients were univerſally admired: but they had no rivals except in Italy.

ROME, which in every century has almoſt always aſſumed a character the beſt adapted to the preſent

preſent moment, ſeemed diſpoſed no longer to encourage that ignorance which had ſo long and ſo materially been ſubſervient to her intereſts. She protected polite literature, and ſuch of the arts as depended more on imagination than reaſon. The moſt ignorant prieſt is well aware, that repreſentations of a terrible divinity, mortification, ſelf-denial, auſterity, melancholy and terror, are ſo many expedients to gain an aſcendant over the minds of men, by engaging them deeply in religious matters. But there are times when theſe expedients have but little effect. Men who have grown rich in peaceful ſtates, are fond of enjoying themſelves; they diſlike the dull road of life, and are eager in their purſuit of pleaſures. When fairs began to be eſtabliſhed, with entertainments of ſports, dancing, and other recreations, the clergy, who obſerved, that the love of feſtivity made the people leſs religious, prohibited theſe ſports, and excommunicated thoſe who bore a part in them. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe amuſements into their own hands. This was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of St. Catherine, acted by the monks of St. Denys, rivalled the ſucceſs of the players. Muſic was introduced into the churches; and even farces were exhibited there. The feſtivals called *la Fête des fous & de L'Ane, & des Innocens,* proved as entertaining to the people as the farces that were acted in the public places. It often happened, that attracted by the mere love of amuſement, they left the Egyptian dances to join in the proceſſion for the feſtival,

feſtival of St. John. As the Italians improved in politeneſs, their pleaſures became more refined; and the decency that was introduced into their common feaſts and public entertainments, afforded leſs pretence for the cenſures of the prieſts, and procured them a toleration. The merit of being able to read had been long confined to this claſs of men; but when it became a more general accompliſhment, they could no longer avail themſelves of this diſtinction: and finding that learning was the road to fame, they were ambitious of ſhining in literary purſuits. The popes, who enjoyed an opulent and peaceful ſovereignty in the voluptuous region of Italy, laid aſide their auſterity. Their court became an agreeable one. The encouragement of literature was conſidered as a new expedient to eſtabliſh their authority over the minds of men. Genius was cheriſhed, and marks of honour were conferred upon great artiſts. Raphael died but a ſhort time before he was to have been created a cardinal; and Petrarch had the honours of a triumph. As little conformable as this good taſte, theſe fine arts, and new amuſements, may appear to the ſpirit of the goſpel, they were evidently calculated to promote the intereſt of the papal throne. The belles lettres ſerve to ornament this eccleſiaſtical ſtructure; but philoſophy demoliſhes it. Thus, while the church of Rome favoured polite literature and the fine arts, it diſcountenanced the ſeverer ſciences. The poets were crowned with laurel; but the philoſophers were perſecuted. Galileo from his priſon might have beheld Taſſo carried in triumph to the capitol, if thoſe men of great genius had been cotemporaries.

It was now time that philoſophy and learning ſhould lend their ſupport to morality and reaſon. The church of Rome had taken all imaginable pains to ſubvert thoſe principles of juſtice which nature had implanted in all mankind. The ſingle maxim, that the pope had a right to the ſovereignty of all empires, ſapped the foundation of all ſociety and public virtue: this maxim, however, had for a long time prevailed, together with that horrid doctrine, which not only permitted but enjoined hatred and perſecution towards all whoſe religious opinions were not agreeable to thoſe of the Romiſh church. Indulgences, a ſpecies of expiation which might be purchaſed for all crimes, or if any thing can be ſtill more monſtrous, for crimes to be committed in future; diſpenſations for breaking faith with the enemies of the pontiff, though they were of the ſame religion; that article of belief which teaches, that the merit of the juſt may be transferred to the wicked; vices of all kinds exemplified in the lives of the popes, and other religious perſons, who ought to have been models to the people; above all, that greateſt reproach to humanity, the inquiſition: all theſe horrid enormities made Europe appear to be rather the haunt of tygers and ſerpents, than a vaſt country inhabited or cultivated by men.

Such was the ſituation of Europe, when the Portugueſe monarch, at the head of an active, generous and intelligent people, ſurrounded by neighbours who ſtill preyed upon each other, formed a plan of extending his dominions by ſea and land.

John

BOOK I.

JOHN I. had ſeveral ſons, who, being ambitious of ſignalizing themſelves, undertook, at firſt, ſome expeditions to Barbary. Henry, whoſe genius was ſuperior to that of the others, reſolved to make diſcoveries in the weſt. This young prince availed himſelf of the little knowledge of aſtronomy which was preſerved among the Arabs. At Sagrés, a city of Algarva, he eſtabliſhed an obſervatory, and made it the place of education for all the nobility who compoſed his train; he had a conſiderable ſhare in the invention of the Aſtrolabe, and was the firſt who was ſenſible of the advantages that might be drawn from the compaſs, which, though already known in Europe, had never been applied to the purpoſes of navigation.

The firſt expeditions of the Portugueſe; their arrival in India.

THE pilots, who ſtudied under his direction, diſcovered Madeira in the year 1418. Two years after this, one of his ſhips took poſſeſſion of the Canaries; he doubled the Cape of Sierra-Leona, and the river Zara led him into the interior parts of Africa as far as Congo. He made an eaſy conqueſt of thoſe countries, and eſtabliſhed an advantageous commerce. The inconſiderable nations who inhabited thoſe parts, being ſeparated from each other by impaſſable deſerts, were ſtrangers both to the value of their riches, and the art of defending themſelves. Theſe voyages raiſed great expectations; the revenues that might in future ariſe from the coaſt of Guinea, were farmed. An inſtance of avidity ſo premature, ſhews, that the princes, who undertook theſe diſcoveries, were more ſolicitous to increaſe their finances, than to promote the commerce of their ſubjects.

In the reign of John II. an intelligent prince, who firſt declared Liſbon a free port, and under whoſe auſpices a new method was adopted of applying aſtronomy to navigation, ſome of his ſubjects, whom he ſent out upon an expedition, doubled the Cape which is at the extremity of Africa. The Cape was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foreſaw that it would open a paſſage to India, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

Emanuel purſued the plan marked out by his predeceſſors. In 1497 he equipped a fleet conſiſting of four ſhips, and gave the command of it to *Vaſco de Gama*. This admiral, having weathered ſeveral ſtorms in his cruiſe along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, and attempted ſeas before unknown, landed at length in Indoſtan, after a voyage of thirteen months.

A geographical deſcription of Aſia.

Asia, of which Indoſtan is one of the richeſt parts, is a vaſt continent, lying, according to the obſervations of the Ruſſians, the truth of which has been juſtly doubted, between the 43d and the 207th degree of longitude. It extends, between the two poles, from the 77th degree of northern to the 10th degree of ſouthern latitude. That part of this large continent which is ſituated in the temperate zone, between the 35th and the 50th degree of latitude, appears to be higher than the reſt: it is bordered both towards the north and ſouth by two vaſt chains of mountains, which run almoſt from the weſtern extremity of Aſia Minor and the coaſts of the black ſea, to the ocean that waſhes the coaſts of China and Tartary towards the eaſt. Theſe two chains are

united

united by other intermediate chains, in a direction from ſouth to north; they branch out towards the northern, the Indian, and eaſtern oceans, and appear like ſo many bulwarks raiſed between the beds of the large rivers which roll through theſe immenſe regions.

Such is the great baſis which nature has raiſed to ſupport the fabric of Aſia. In the inland parts of this vaſt country, the earth, parched by the heat of the ſun, becomes ſo light, that it is carried about by the winds; there is not the leaſt appearance either of ſtone or marble; no petrified ſhells, or other foſſils, are to be found; the beds of minerals lie upon the ſurface. All theſe phœnomena, joined to the obſervations made with the barometer, are proofs of the great elevation of the central part of Aſia, to which the moderns have given the name of the leſs Bucharia.

From theſe heights, which form a kind of girdle, ſurrounding this immenſe and unfruitful region, ſeveral large ſtreams ariſe, that run in different channels. The fragments of barren earth, which are perpetually carried down by theſe rivers towards the ſeveral extremities of Aſia, form ſo many barriers againſt the ſea, and promiſe a ſtability and duration to this continent, ſuperior to that of any other. Perhaps it will be its fate to ſee the reſt repeatedly buried under the waters, before it ſuffers any encroachment itſelf.

The Caſpian ſea alone has preſerved its ſtation within the limits of this vaſt tract of land, which has been emerging from the deep through a ſeries of ages. It is undoubtedly the reſervoir of thoſe large

large rivers that fall into it, and poſſibly may alſo have ſome ſmall communication, by ſubterraneous paſſages, with the ocean and the Mediterranean; if it be true, as it appears to be from obſervations made with the barometer at Aſtracan, that its ſurface is below the level of both thoſe ſeas.

The frozen ocean, which extends along the northern coaſts of Siberia, renders them inacceſſible, if we may believe the accounts given by the Ruſſians. They tell us, that it is in vain to expect to find a new paſſage by this ſea from Europe to America; and that the ice will always prevent the doubling of the Cape of Schalaginſkoi, which ſeparates the old from the new world, though this paſſage has once been croſſed. But the Ruſſians are probably not ſincere enough, or not ſufficiently informed, to deſerve entire credit; and either tell us more or leſs than the truth.

The Indian ocean, which bears towards the ſouth of Aſia, is divided from the great ſouth ſea by a chain of mountains, which begins at the iſland of Madagaſcar, and extending under water as far as Sumatra, (as is evident from the ſhallows and rocks which are ſcattered in thoſe parts) unites again at Van Diemen's Land and New Guinea. M. Buache, a geographer, who has examined the earth as a natural philoſopher, and has laid down a chart of the world according to this hypotheſis, is of opinion, that the ſea between this long chain of iſlands and the ſouthern coaſts of Aſia, ſhould be divided into three great baſons; the limits of which ſeem to have been circumſcribed or drawn by the hand of nature.

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THE firſt, wich lies towards the weſt, between Arabia and Perſia, is bounded towards the ſouth by that chain of iſlands, which extends from Cape Comorin and the Maldivia Iſlands to Madagaſcar. This baſon, which runs into the land, is inceſſantly enlarging the gulph of Perſia and the red ſea. The ſecond of theſe baſons forms the gulph of Bengal. The third includes the great Archipelago, which contains the Sunda, the Moluccas, and the Philippine Iſlands. This joins Aſia to the ſouthern continent, and ſerves as a boundary to the pacific ocean. Between this ſea and the great Archipelago, a kind of new baſon is formed by a chain of mountains under water towards the eaſt, which extends from the Ladrone to the Japan Iſlands. When we have paſſed theſe celebrated iſlands, we come to a chain of iſlands called Kuriles, which touch the ſouthern point of the Peninſula of Kamtſchatka; and form a fifth baſon into which the river Amur empties itſelf; but as its entrance is obſtructed by the Bamboos, which grow there in great abundance, it is imagined that this ſea has very little depth.

THESE geographical details, far from being foreign to our purpoſe, are in a manner neceſſary to direct and engage our attention to the richeſt and fineſt continent upon the globe. We will begin with Indoſtan.

Natural hiſtory of Indoſtan.

THOUGH by the general name of the Eaſt Idies is commonly underſtood that immenſe tract of land which lies beyond the Arabian ſea, and the Perſian empire; yet by Indoſtan is properly meant a country lying between two celebrated rivers, the Indus and

the Ganges, which fall into the Indian ocean, at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from each other. A ridge of high mountains runs acroſs this long tract from north to ſouth, and dividing it into two equal parts, extends as far as Cape Comorin, where it forms the boundary between the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, and perhaps the only one of the kind, that this ridge ſeems to be a barrier, erected by nature, to ſeparate one ſeaſon from another. The mere breadth of theſe mountains divides ſummer from winter, that is to ſay, the ſeaſon of fine weather from the rainy; for it is well known there is no winter between the tropics; all that is meant by winter in India is that time of the year when the clouds, which the ſun attracts from the ſea, are driven violently by the winds againſt the mountains, where they break and diſſolve in rain, accompanied with frequent ſtorms. From hence torrents are formed, which ruſh from the hills, ſwell the rivers, and overflow the vallies; dark vapours, that obſcure the day, and ſpread a thick and impenetrable gloom over the deluged country: but, as the chaos which brooded over the principles of things before the creation, this cloudy ſeaſon promotes fertility; for at this time the plants and flowers appear in full ſtrength and beauty, and the fruits in general come to maturity.

The ſummer may naturally be expected to preſerve its uſual temperature better than the winter, in a climate ſo immediately under the influence of the ſun: the ſky, without a cloud to intercept its

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rays, ſeems to be all on fire; but the ſea-breezes which ſpring up in the day-time, and the land-breezes that blow during the night, alternately alleviate the heat of the atmoſphere; yet the calms, that now and then intervene, ſtifle theſe refreſhing gales, and the inhabitants are reduced to ſuffer the inconveniencies of exceſſive drought.

THE effect of the two different ſeaſons is ſtill more remarkably felt in the two Indian oceans, where they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the dry and rainy monſoons. While the ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Malabar is agitated by ſtorms, which the returning ſun introduces with the ſpring, the ſlighteſt veſſels ſail ſecurely along the coaſt of Coromandel upon a ſmooth ſurface, and require neither ſkill nor precaution in their pilots; but in the autumn, which, in its turn, changes the face of the elements, the weſtern coaſt enjoys a perfect calm, while the eaſtern Indian ocean is toſſed by tempeſts; each experiencing, as it were, the alternatives of peace and war. An inhabitant of the iſland of Ceylon, who contemplates the equatorial region at the two equinoxes, beholds the ſeas on the right hand and on the left alternately agitated with ſtorms, or lulled into tranquillity; as if the Author of Nature, in theſe two inſtants of equilibrium, turned at once the ſcales of good and evil, which he holds perpetually in his hands. It is not improbable that the doctrine of the Manichees, concerning the two principles, might take its riſe in India, where the two empires of good and evil are divided only by a partition of mountains; ſince pain and pleaſure ſeem to be as much

the origin of the different forms of worſhip, as they are of the ideas of mankind. There is ſo infinite a connection between natural and moral principles, that all ſyſtems of importance to the happineſs of the human ſpecies have taken their colour from the nature of the climate: accordingly it is obſervable, that the Indians, whoſe imaginations receive the deepeſt impreſſion of nature from the more forcible operation of good and evil, and the view they conſtantly have of the diſcord of the elements, are placed in a ſituation moſt fertile in revolutions, events and tranſactions of every kind.

HENCE it is, that the celebrated countries of India have long engaged the attention of the philoſopher and the hiſtorian, whoſe conjectures have aſſigned to their earlieſt inhabitants an æra of the moſt extraordinary antiquity. To ſay the truth, whether we conſult hiſtorical records, or conſider the poſition of Indoſtan upon the globe, taking it for granted, that the ocean has a progreſſive motion from eaſt to weſt, we muſt allow that this part of the earth was the firſt that was inhabited. We may trace the origin of moſt of the ſciences in the hiſtory of that country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for inſtruction; the trade carried on by them with the oldeſt commercial nations, in exchange for their cloth, is a proof of their great progreſs in the arts of induſtry.

UPON the whole, it ſhould ſeem reaſonable to conclude, that a part of the globe, the beſt adapted to the human ſpecies, would be peopled the earlieſt; and that the firſt men would fix their abode

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in a delicious climate, pure air, and a soil too fertile to require much cultivation. If the human race could be supposed to multiply and extend themselves in those horrid regions, where they must maintain a perpetual struggle with nature: if they could inhabit burning sands, impracticable morasses, and regions of perpetual ice; or frequent deserts and forests, where they must defend themselves against the violence of the elements, and the attacks of wild beasts: how easily might they not form themselves into societies in these delightful countries, where mankind, exempt from necessity, has nothing to pursue but pleasure; where enjoying without labour or anxiety the choicest productions, and the most glorious prospect of the great scene of nature, they might justly assume the distinguishing title of Lords of the Creation! These beautiful scenes present themselves on the banks of the Ganges, and in the plains of Indostan. The air is perfumed with the most delicious fruits, which afford a wholesome and refreshing nourishment; the trees form a shade impenetrable to the rays of the sun. While the living animals that are dispersed over the globe, cannot subsist in other parts without devouring each other, they share in India, in common with their master, the sweets of plenty and security. Even at this day, when the earth may be supposed to have been exhausted by the productions of so many ages, and their consumption in foreign countries, Indostan, if we except a few sandy and barren districts, is still the most fruitful country in the world.

BOOK I.

Religion, government, and cuſtoms of Indoſtan.

THE ſyſtem of morals in this country is no leſs extraordinary than the ſyſtem of nature. When we fix our eyes on this vaſt region, where nature hath exerted her utmoſt efforts for the happineſs of man, we cannot but regret that man hath done all in his power to oppoſe her. The rage of conqueſt, and what is no leſs deſtructive an evil, the greedineſs of traders have, in their turns, ravaged and oppreſſed the fineſt country on the face of the globe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numbers of ſavage banditti, and other ſtrangers, whom war or the deſire of gain has invited to India, it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the antient inhabitants. There is not, however, ſo much difference in the caſt of complexion and outward appearance of theſe people, as in the particularities of their character; oppreſſed as they have been with the yoke of tyranny, or rather of the wildeſt anarchy, they have not adopted either the manners, the laws, or the religion of their maſters. Their continual experience of all the horrors of war, all the exceſſes and vices of which human nature is capable, has not tainted their character. Nothing has ever been able to reconcile the tender, humane and timorous Indian to ſcenes of blood, or to animate him with the courage and ſpirit of rebellion. His vices ariſe ſolely from a weak mind.

THE judicious traveller, who paſſing over the plains of Egypt, ſees trunks of columns, mutilated ſtatues, broken entablatures, and immenſe pyramids that have eſcaped the ravages of war and time diſperſed about the country, is loſt in admiration at the

the view of the ruins of a nation which no longer exiſts. He cannot now find out the ſituation of Thebes, that city ſo celebrated in antiquity for its hundred gates; but the venerable remains of its temples and of its tombs, give him a higher idea of its magnificence than the deſcriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

When we attentively examine the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we ſeem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immenſe fabric. The original form is loſt, but enough is preſerved to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidſt a variety of abſurd ſuperſtitions, puerile and extravagant cuſtoms, ſtrange ceremonies and prejudices, we may diſcover the traces of ſublime morality, deep philoſophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil inſtitutions to their origin, we find that is loſt in the maze of antiquity. By the moſt antient traditions, the Indians appear to have been the firſt who received the rudiments of ſcience, and the poliſh of civilization. But their legiſlative ſyſtem has never been diſcovered; and the antients themſelves ſeem only to have been acquainted with the remains of it.

In India are found the traces of a multitude of ſuperſtitious obſervances, arts, ſports, errors and truths of all kinds, which have been adopted by almoſt all nations.

The Indians themſelves are ignorant of the origin of their religion and policy: they have to this day preſerved cuſtoms which muſt certainly

have owed their riſe to a ſyſtem that no longer exiſts: the ſpirit of their political conſtitution is loſt, and every branch of it either changed or corrupted. Their religion, which was of the allegorical and moral kind, hath degenerated into a heap of extravagant and obſcene ſuperſtitions, owing to their having realized thoſe fictions which were intended merely as ſo many ſymbols and emblems.

WERE it poſſible to obtain a ſight of their ſacred books, the only remains there are of the Indian antiquities, we might, in ſome meaſure, be enabled to remove the veil that envelops theſe numerous myſteries; but we have little reaſon to hope that we ſhall ever be intruſted with ſuch a communication.

THE emperor Mahmoud Akbar had an inclination to make himſelf acquainted with the principles of all the religious ſects throughout his extenſive provinces. Having diſcarded the ſuperſtitious notions with which he had been prepoſſeſſed by his education in the Mohammedan faith, he reſolved to judge for himſelf. It was eaſy for him to be acquainted with the nature of thoſe ſyſtems, that are formed upon the plan of making proſelytes; but he found himſelf diſappointed in his deſign, when he came to treat with the Indians, who will not admit any perſon whatever to the participation of their myſteries.

NEITHER the authority nor promiſes of Akbar could prevail with the Bramins to diſcloſe the tenets of their religion; he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice. The ſtratagem he made

made uſe of was, to cauſe an infant, of the name of Feizi, to be committed to the care of theſe prieſts, as a poor orphan of the ſacerdotal line, who alone could be initiated into the ſacred rites of their theology. Feizi, having received the proper inſtructions for the part he was to act, was conveyed privately to Benares, the ſeat of knowledge in Indoſtan; he was received into the houſe of a learned Bramin, who educated him with the ſame care as if he had been his ſon. After the youth had ſpent ten years in ſtudy, Akbar was deſirous of recalling him; but he was ſtruck with the charms of the daughter of his preceptor.

THE women of the ſacerdotal tribe are looked upon as the greateſt beauties in Indoſtan. The old Bramin laid no reſtraint on the growing paſſion of the two lovers; he was fond of Feizi, who had gained his affection by his addreſs and docility, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The young man, divided between love and gratitude, reſolved to conceal the fraud no longer; and falling at the feet of the Bramin, diſcovered the impoſture, and aſked pardon for his offence.

THE prieſt, without reproaching him in the leaſt, ſeized a poniard which hung at his girdle, and was going to plunge it in his breaſt, if Feizi had not prevented him by taking hold of his arm. The young man uſed every means to pacify him, and declared himſelf ready to do any thing to expiate his treachery. The Bramin burſting into tears, promiſed to pardon him on condition that he ſhould ſwear never to tranſlate the *Bedas*, or

ſacred volumes, or diſcloſe to any perſon whatever the ſymbol of the Bramin creed. Feizi readily promiſed all that the Bramin required: how far he kept his word is not known; but the ſacred books of the Indians have never been tranſlated by him, or any one elſe, to this day.

As the Bramins are the only perſons who underſtand the language of the ſacred book, their comments on the text are the ſame as thoſe which have ever been made on religious books; all the maxims which fancy, intereſt, paſſion or falſe zeal can ſuggeſt, are to be found in theſe volumes. Theſe excluſive pretenſions of the interpreters of religion have given them that unbounded influence over the people, which impoſtors and fanatics will not fail to exert over men who have not the courage to conſult either their own reaſon, or their own feelings.

From the Indus to the Ganges, the *Vedam* is univerſally received as the book that contains the principles of religion; but the generality differ on ſeveral points relative to faith and practice. That ſpirit of debate and refinement, which for ſo many ages has infected the philoſophy of our ſchools, has made ſtill further progreſs among the Bramins, and cauſed more abſurdities in their doctrines than it has introduced into ours, by a mixture of Platoniſm which is perhaps itſelf derived from the doctrines of the Bramins.

Throughout all Indoſtan, the laws of government, cuſtoms and manners make a part of religion; being all derived from Brama, a being far ſuperior in dignity to the human race, the interpreter

preter of the divinity, the author of the ſacred books, and the great law-giver of India.

THERE is ſome reaſon to believe that Brama was poſſeſſed of the ſovereign authority; as his religious inſtitutions were evidently deſigned to inſpire the people with a profound reverence and great love for their country, and are particularly levelled againſt the vices incident to the climate. Few religions ſeem to have been ſo well adapted to the countries for which they were calculated.

IT is from Brama that the Indians derive their religious veneration for the three capital rivers of Indoſtan, the Indus, the Criſtina, and the Ganges. It was he who conſecrated the animal that is moſt ſerviceable in the cultivation of land, as well as the cow, whoſe milk is ſo wholeſome a nouriſhment in hot countries. To him they aſcribe the diviſion of the people into tribes or *caſtes*, diſtinguiſhed from each other by their political and religious principles. This inſtitution is antecedent to all traditions and known records, and may be conſidered as the moſt ſtriking proof of the great antiquity of the Indians. Nothing appears more contrary to the natural progreſs of ſocial connections, than this diſtribution of the members of the ſame community into diſtinct claſſes. Such an idea could only be the reſult of a ſtudied plan of legiſlation, which pre-ſuppoſes a great proficiency in civilization and knowledge. Another circumſtance ſtill more extraordinary is, that this diſtinction ſhould continue ſo many ages, after the leading idea and connecting tie was forgotten; and affords us a remarkable example of the ſtrength

of national prejudices, when ſanctified by religious ideas.

THE nation is divided into four claſſes, the Bramins, the ſoldiery, huſbandmen and mechanics: theſe claſſes have their ſubdiviſions. There are ſeveral orders of Bramins: thoſe who mix in ſociety are, for the moſt part, very corrupt in their morals; they believe that the water of the Ganges will waſh away all their crimes; and as they are not ſubject to any civil juriſdiction, live without either reſtraint or virtue, excepting that character of compaſſion and charity which is ſo commonly found in the mild climate of India.

THE others who live abſtracted from the world, are either weak-minded men or enthuſiaſts, and abandon themſelves to lazineſs, ſuperſtition, and the dreams of metaphyſics. We find in their diſputes the very ſame ideas that occur in the writings of our moſt celebrated metaphyſicians; ſuch as, ſubſtance, accident, priority, poſteriority, immutability, indiviſibility, the vital and ſenſitive ſoul; but with this difference, that in India theſe fine diſcoveries are very ancient, though it is but a very ſhort time ſince father Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Leibnitz, and Mallebranche aſtoniſhed all Europe with their dexterity in raiſing theſe viſionary ſyſtems. As this abſtracted manner of reaſoning was derived to us from the Greek philoſophers, whoſe refinements we have far exceeded, it is not improbable that the Greeks themſelves might have borrowed this ridiculous knowledge from the Indians; unleſs we rather chuſe to ſuppoſe, that as the principles of metaphyſics lie open

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to the capacities of all nations, the indolence of the Bramins may have produced the ſame effect in India, as that of our monks has done in Europe: notwithſtanding the inhabitants of one country had never communicated their doctrines to thoſe of the other.

Such are the deſcendants of the ancient Brachmans, whom antiquity never ſpeaks of but with admiration; becauſe the affectation of auſterity and myſtery, and the privilege of declaring the will of heaven have impoſed upon the vulgar in all ages. The Greeks aſcribe to them the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and certain notions concerning the nature of the Supreme Being, and future rewards and puniſhments.

To this ſpecies of knowledge, which is the more flattering to the curioſity of man in proportion as it tranſcends his weak capacity, the Brachmans added an infinite number of religious obſervances, which were adopted by Pythagoras in his ſchool; ſuch as, faſting, prayer, ſilence, and contemplation; virtues of the imagination, which have a more powerful effect upon the vulgar than thoſe of a uſeful and benevolent tendency. The Brachmans were looked upon as the friends of the gods, becauſe they affected to pay them ſo much regard; and as the protectors of mankind, becauſe they paid them no regard at all. No bounds were therefore ſet to the reſpect and gratitude that were ſhewn them; princes themſelves did not ſcruple to conſult theſe recluſes upon any critical conjuncture, from a ſuppoſition, no doubt, that they were inſpired; ſince it was impoſſible to imagine that they

they had the advantages of experience. We can ſcarcely, however, deny that there might be among them ſome men of real virtue, whoſe minds reliſhed the pure and ingenuous delights of ſtudy and ſcience; and who, by nobly raiſing their thoughts to the contemplation of the firſt Being, muſt have had more powerful incitements to render themſelves worthy of his care, and none to juſtify them in deceiving, and tyrannizing over their fellow-creatures.

The military claſs conſiſts of the Rajas on the coaſt of Coromandel, and the Nairs on the coaſt of Malabar. There are likewiſe whole nations, the Canarins and the Marattas for inſtance, who aſſume the profeſſion, either becauſe they are the deſcendants of ſome tribes originally devoted to arms, or becauſe times and circumſtances have introduced a change in their primitive inſtitutions.

The third claſs conſiſts entirely of huſbandmen, and there are few countries where this ſet of men have a better title to the gratitude of their fellow-ſubjects; they are laborious and induſtrious, perfectly acquainted with the art of diſtributing their rivulets, and of making the burning ſoil they inhabit as fertile as poſſible. They are in India what they would be every where elſe, if not corrupted or oppreſſed by government, the moſt honeſt and virtuous of men. This claſs, which was formerly much reſpected, was free from tyranny, and the ravages of war; never were the huſbandmen obliged to bear arms; their lands and their labours were held equally ſacred; they ploughed their fields within view of contending armies, who

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ſuffered them to purſue their peaceful toil without moleſtation; their corn was never ſet on fire, nor their trees cut down; religion too, that all-powerful principle, lent her aſſiſtance to reaſon, which, though it inculcates indeed the propriety of protecting uſeful occupations, has not of itſelf ſufficient influence to enforce the execution of its own laws.

The tribe of mechanics was branched out into as many ſubdiviſions as there are trades; no one was allowed to relinquiſh the profeſſion of his parents; for which reaſon induſtry and vaſſalage have ever gone hand in hand, and carried the arts to as high perfection as they can poſſibly attain without the aſſiſtance of taſte and imagination, which ſeldom unfold themſelves but under the kind influences of emulation and liberty.

Beſides theſe tribes, there is a fifth, which is the outcaſt of all the reſt; the members of it are employed in the meaneſt offices of ſociety; they bury the dead, carry away dirt, and live upon the fleſh of animals that die natural deaths; they are held in ſuch abhorrence, that if any of their ſociety dares to touch any perſon belonging to the other claſſes, he has a right to kill him on the ſpot; they are called Parias.

In Malabar there is another race of men, called Poulichees, who ſuffer ſtill greater injuries and hardſhips; they inhabit the foreſts, where they are not permitted to build huts, but are obliged to make a kind of neſt upon the trees: when they are preſſed with hunger, they howl like wild beaſts to excite the compaſſion of the paſſengers. The moſt

moſt charitable among the Indians depoſit ſome rice or other food at the foot of a tree, and retire with all poſſible haſte, to give the famiſhed wretch an opportunity of taking it without meeting with his benefactor, who would think himſelf polluted by coming near him.

THE Europeans, by living with theſe unhappy people upon terms of common humanity, at length made themſelves almoſt equally the objects of deteſtation among the Indians. This deteſtation prevails even to this day in the inland parts of the country, where the want of intercourſe keeps alive thoſe rooted prejudices, which wear off gradually near the ſea-coaſts, where the intereſts and mutual wants of commerce unite men with each other, and conſequently introduce juſter notions of human nature.

ALL theſe claſſes are for ever ſeparated from each other by unſurmountable barriers; they are not allowed to intermarry, live, or eat together. Whoever tranſgreſſes this rule, is baniſhed as a diſgrace to his tribe.

BUT it is quite otherwiſe when they go in pilgrimage to the temple of Jagrenat, or the Supreme Being. At theſe ſeaſons the Bramins, the Raja or Nair, the huſbandman and mechanic carry their offerings, and eat and drink promiſcuouſly; they are there admoniſhed that the diſtinctions of birth are of human inſtitution, and that all men are brethren and children of the ſame God.

THE religious ſyſtem which has given a ſanction to the ſubordination of rank among the Indians, has not had ſufficient influence to prevent them

them entirely from aſpiring to thoſe marks of diſtinction which are appropriated to the ſuperior claſſes. Ambition, ſo natural to mankind, has ſometimes exerted itſelf, and ſingular expedients have been tried by men jealous of ſuperiority to ſhare with the Bramins the veneration of the multitude; this has given riſe to a race of monks known in India by the name of Fakirs.

Men of all the tribes or caſtes are permitted to follow this claſs of life; nothing more is required than to emulate the Bramins in abſtracted contemplation and indolence; but at the ſame time they are obliged to ſurpaſs them in exceſſive auſterities, which ſtrike the mildeſt people in the world with religious horror. The appearance of theſe fanatics exceeds imagination; ſome of them wallow in the dirt, others accuſtom themſelves to painful poſtures, extending their arms over their head till they are unable to recover their natural poſition; and a third ſort continue ſtanding ſeven or eight days together, which occaſions prodigious ſwellings in their legs; they all of them enter into an engagement never to waſh their bodies, or comb their hair; and to oppoſe and diſgrace nature, with a view of recommending themſelves to its author. The reſpect paid them by the people is their only recompenſe for theſe ſacrifices, which infinitely exceed all the mortifications practiſed by the European monks; if thoſe may be called mortifications, which are nothing more than ſingular ceremonies practiſed at an early age, when to get rid of ſcruples concerning the gratification of natural and forbidden paſſions, the

youthful imagination ardently embraces any ſyſtem of life, however extravagant, provided it has received the public ſanction, and is calculated to adminiſter to their pleaſures.

THOUGH in the ſacred books of the Indians we do not meet with thoſe inſtances of the marvellous, which ſometimes ſtrike ſo forcibly in the Greek theology, their mythology is as irregular as that of almoſt any other people. We do not find, in particular, any connection between their religious principles and the ſeveral claſſes that form the baſis of their government. The ſhaſtah is looked upon by ſome as a commentary on the vedam, and by others as an original work, an extract of which has been lately publiſhed in England, and has thrown ſome light upon this ſubject. This book teaches, that the Eternal Being abſorbed in the contemplation of his own eſſence, formed the reſolution of created beings, who might partake of his glory. He ſpoke, and angels roſe into exiſtence; they ſang in concert the praiſes of their Creator, and harmony reigned in the celeſtial regions, when two of theſe ſpirits having revolted, drew a legion after them. The Supreme Being drove them into a place of torment, from whence they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the faithful angels, upon conditions, which at once inſpired them with joy and terror. The rebels were ſentenced, under different forms, to undergo puniſhments in the loweſt of the fifteen planets, in proportion to the enormity of their firſt offence; accordingly each angel underwent eighty-ſeven tranſmigrations upon earth, before

before he animated the body of a cow, which holds the higheſt rank among the animal tribes. Theſe different tranſmigrations are conſidered as ſo many ſtages of expiation, preparatory to a ſtate of probation, which commences as ſoon as the angel tranſmigrates from the body of the cow into a human body: in this ſituation the Creator enlarges his intellectual faculties, and conſtitutes him a free agent; and his good or bad conduct haſtens or retards the time of his pardon. The good are at their death, re-united to the Supreme Being, and the wicked begin anew the æra of their expiation.

Hence it appears, from this tradition of the ſhaſtah, that the metempſychoſis is an actual puniſhment, and that the ſouls which animate the generality of the brute creation, are nothing more than wicked ſpirits. This explanation is certainly not univerſally adopted in India. It was probably invented by ſome devotee of a melancholy and rigid caſt, as the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls ſeems originally to have been founded rather on hope than fear.

In fact, it is natural to ſuppoſe that it was only adopted at firſt as an idea that flattered and ſoothed mankind, and would eaſily be embraced in a country where men, living under the influence of a delicious climate and a mild government, began to be ſenſible of the ſhortneſs of life. A ſyſtem, therefore, which extended it beyond its natural limits could not fail to be well received. It is a conſolation to an old man, who ſees himſelf deſerted by all that is dear to him, to imagine

gine that his enjoyments will ſtill remain, and that his diſſolution only opens a paſſage to another ſcene of exiſtence. At the ſame time, it is equally a matter of conſolation to the friends who attend him in his laſt moments, to think, that in leaving the world he does not relinquiſh the hopes of riſing once more into life. Hence was the riſe and progreſs of the doctrine of tranſmigration. Reaſon, diſſatisfied with this illuſion, may urge in vain, that without recollection there can be no continuance or identity of being; and that if a man does not remember that he has exiſted, he is in the ſame ſituation as if he had never exiſted before:—Sentiment adopted what reaſon diſallowed.

The ſhaſtah, no doubt, has given a greater air of ſeverity to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, with a view of making it more inſtrumental in ſupporting the ſyſtem of morality neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed. In fact, upon this idea of tranſmigration conſidered in the light of a puniſhment, the ſhaſtah explains the duties which the angels were required to perform. The principal ones were charity, abſtinence from animal food, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the profeſſion of their anceſtors. This laſt-mentioned prejudice, in which all theſe people agree, notwithſtanding they differ in their opinions concerning its origin, is without example, unleſs it be among the ancient Egyptians, whoſe inſtitutions and thoſe of the Indians have certainly ſome hiſtorical relation to each other, which is now unknown to us. But though the Egyptian laws eſtabliſhed a diſtinction

diſtinction of ranks, none were held in contempt; while, on the contrary, the laws of Brama, by the introduction, perhaps, of ſome abuſes, ſeem to have condemned one part of the nation to pain and infamy.

THERE is reaſon to believe that the Indians were almoſt as civilized when Brama inſtituted his laws, as they are at preſent. Whenever a community begins to aſſume a certain form, it naturally divides into ſeveral claſſes, according to the variety and extent of thoſe arts that are neceſſary to ſupply its demands.

IT was doubtleſs the intention of Brama, by confirming theſe different profeſſions by ſanctions of religion, and confining the exerciſe of them perpetually to the ſame families, to give them a laſting eſtabliſhment on political principles; but he did not foreſee that by theſe means he ſhould obſtruct the progreſs of diſcoveries, which, in the end, might give riſe to new occupations. Accordingly, if we may judge by the ſcrupulous attention paid by the Indians at this day to the laws of Brama, we may affirm that induſtry has made no advances among this people, ſince the time of this legiſlator; and that they were almoſt as civilized as they are at preſent, when they firſt received his laws. This remark is ſufficient to give us an idea of the antiquity of theſe people, who have made no improvements in knowledge ſince an æra which ſeems to be the moſt ancient in hiſtory.

BRAMA preſcribed different kinds of food for theſe reſpective tribes. The military, and ſome

other ranks, were permitted to eat veniſon and mutton. Fiſh was allowed to ſome huſbandmen and mechanics. Others lived upon milk and vegetables. None of the Bramins ate any thing that had life. Upon the whole, theſe people are extremely ſober; but their abſtinence varies in proportion to the greater or leſs labour required in their profeſſions.

They marry in their infancy, and their wives maintain a character of fidelity unknown in other countries. Some of the ſuperior ranks are allowed the privilege of having ſeveral wives. It is well known that the wives of the Bramins burn themſelves on the death of their huſbands, and they ſeem to be the only perſons who are obliged to it by the laws. Others, however, have been diſpoſed to follow their example, led by that point of honour to which ſo many victims are ſacrificed in all countries. This cruel injunction is confined to widows who have no iſſue. Thoſe who have children are expected to take care of their education and ſettlement in the world. Were it not for this precaution, the ſtate, which ought to be the guardian of theſe orphans, would be laden with a very oppreſſive burthen.

Since the Moguls became maſters of Indoſtan, theſe horrible ſpectacles have been much leſs frequent, as it coſts a ſum too conſiderable for any but the rich to obtain a licence for that purpoſe. But this obſtacle has ſometimes made their inclinations the ſtronger. Some women have been known to devote themſelves for ſeveral years to the loweſt and moſt laborious employments, in order

order to raiſe money to defray the expences of this extravagant ſuicide. Others have been more eagerly ambitious of ſacrificing themſelves, in proportion as ſcenes of this kind became leſs common.

A FEW years ago a young, beautiful, and rich widow of Surat aſpired to this high honour. The governor refuſed to grant her permiſſion to conſign herſelf, with all her valuable accompliſhments, to the flames. The lady, full of indignation, took a handful of burning coals, and, ſeemingly regardleſs of the pain, ſaid in a firm tone to the governor: *Conſider not alone the tenderneſs of my age; ſee with what inſenſibility I hold this fire in my hands; and know that with equal conſtancy I ſhall throw myſelf into the flames.*

ALL the women, however, are not animated with this enthuſiaſtic intrepidity. Many of them, who were ambitious of devoting themſelves to the manes of their huſbands, have been ſeized with an involuntary tremor when their approaching fate appeared in all its horrors. To encourage them to this great action, ſo contrary to reaſon and nature, a mixture is given them, which, by ſtupifying the ſenſes, removes the apprehenſions which the preparation for death muſt unavoidably occaſion. The moment the intoxication takes place, theſe unfortunate widows are directly thrown upon the fatal pile; and to this ſtratagem, invented by the advocates for fanaticiſm, are to be attributed thoſe ſeeming ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction, which appear in their countenances at the ſight of thoſe devouring flames that are ready to reduce them to aſhes.

THIS inſtitution is not attributed to Brama, but rather ſeems to be the invention of ſome Bramin, who carried his jealouſy beyond the grave. It is a piece of refinement, dictated by a barbarous and over-ſtrained affection, and ſuitable to the character of thoſe ſuperſtitious mortals, who think there is an eſſential merit in rigid morality, and what they call a ſuperior purity.

THESE people are of a mild, humane diſpoſition, and are almoſt ſtrangers to the paſſions that prevail among us. What motive of ambition can there be among men who are deſtined to continue always in the ſame ſtate? They love peaceable labour and an indolent life, and often quote this paſſage of one of their favourite authors: *'Tis better to ſit ſtill than to walk; better to ſleep than to awake; But death is beſt of all.*

THEIR temperance, and the exceſſive heats of the climate, reſtrain the violence of their paſſions, and weaken their propenſity to amorous pleaſures. Avarice, which reigns chiefly in people of weak bodies, and little minds, is almoſt their only paſſion.

WE may judge of their ingenuity in arts by the ſpecimens that are brought from India. They are not to be made without much difficulty, but they are deſtitute of taſte and elegance. The ſciences are ſtill more neglected, nor have they the leaſt notion of mechanics; before they were acquainted with the Mohammedans, no bridges had ever been erected. The Pagodas are in general nothing more than miſerable ſtructures of a ſquare form, admitting no light but at the entrance, which always fronts the eaſt; this defect is ſupplied by tapers, which

which are kept burning by the pious and devout. It is aſſerted, however, that their great Pagodas are regularly built, and that the ornaments both within and without are of conſiderable value. The idol is placed in the center of the building, ſo that the Parias who are not admitted into the temple, may have a ſight of it through the gates. In theſe Pagodas there are ciſterns of water for the purification of the Indians. Theſe ſuperſtitious ceremonies are chiefly obſerved by the people. It is ſaid that there are ſtill ſome of the Bramins who know how to calculate eclipſes; but it is not very eaſy to diſcover whether this is done by means of ſome of their tables derived from their anceſtors, or whether they are really acquainted with the theory previouſly neceſſary towards the ſolution of ſuch problems.

The military claſs have choſen to fix their reſidence in the northern provinces, and the peninſula is chiefly inhabited by the inferior tribes. Hence it has happened, that all the powers who have attacked India by ſea, have met with ſo little reſiſtance. It may not be amiſs to remind thoſe philoſophers who maintain that man is an animal deſtined to ſubſiſt upon the fruits of the earth, that the military people who indulge in animal food, are more robuſt, courageous and ſprightly, and live longer than thoſe of the other claſſes who feed upon vegetables; at the ſame time it muſt be owned, that the difference between the inhabitants of the north and ſouth, is of too uniform a caſt to be attributed entirely to the particular kind of nouriſhment; the cold of the north, the elaſticity of the

the air, leſs fertility and more labour and exerciſe, with a more varied kind of life; all theſe circumſtances whet the appetite, brace the nerves, raiſe a ſpirit of reſolution and activity, and give a firmer tone to the organs: on the other hand, the heats of the ſouth, together with great quantities of fruit, an active life, a conſtant perſpiration, a more free and more laviſh uſe of the means conducive to population, more indulgence in effeminate pleaſures, and a ſedantry and uniform courſe of life, while they increaſe the number of births, occaſion a ſpeedier diſſolution. Upon the whole it ſhould ſeem, that though man was not by nature deſigned to conſume the fleſh of animals, he is endued with a power of accommodating himſelf to the various modes of life that prevail in every different climate, and either hunts and lives upon fleſh or vegetables; or turns ſhepherd or huſbandman according to the fertility or barrenneſs of the ſoil.

THE religion of Brama was antiently, and ſtill continues to be, divided into eighty-three ſects, which agree in ſome fundamental points, and have no diſputes about the reſt; they live in amity with men of all perſuaſions, as their own does not oblige them to make proſelytes. The Indians ſeldom admit ſtrangers to their worſhip, and always with the greateſt reluctance. This was in ſome meaſure the ſpirit of the ancient ſuperſtition, as it appears among the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans: and though it has occaſioned fewer ravages than the zeal of making converts, it prevents the intercourſes of ſociety, and raiſes an additional barrier between one people and another.

WHEN

WHEN we conſider how bounteouſly nature has provided for the happineſs of theſe fertile countries, where every want is eaſily ſupplied; and that the compaſſionate temper and morals of the Indians render them equally averſe from perſecution and the ſpirit of conqueſt, we cannot help lamenting that a barbarous inequality ſhould have diſtinguiſhed one part of the nation by power and privileges, while the reſt of the inhabitants are loaded with miſery and contempt. What can be the cauſe of this ſtrange illuſion? It muſt doubtleſs be traced to that principle which has been the conſtant ſource of all the calamities that have befallen the inhabitants of this globe.

WE need only ſuppoſe that a powerful people, with few lights to direct them, adopt an original error, which ignorance brings into faſhion: as ſoon as this error becomes general, it is made the baſis of an intire ſyſtem of politics and morality; and men begin to find that their innocent propenſities run counter to their duty. In order to conform to this new plan of morality, they muſt perpetually be offering violence to the order of nature. This continual ſtruggle will introduce a moſt amazing contrariety into their manners; and the nation will be compoſed of a ſett of wretches, who will paſs their lives in mutually tormenting each other, and accuſing nature. Such is the picture of all the people upon earth, excepting, perhaps, a few ſocieties of ſavages. Abſurd prejudices have perverted human reaſon, and even ſtifled that inſtinct which teaches animals to reſiſt oppreſſion and tyranny. Multitudes of the human

race

race implicitly ſubmit to be a ſort of vaſſals to a ſmall number of men who oppreſs them.

Such is the fatal progreſs of that original error, which impoſture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive thoſe rights of reaſonable beings, which to be recovered, want only to be known! Ye ſages of the earth, philoſophers of every nation, it is yours alone to make laws by pointing them out to your countrymen. Take the glorious reſolution to inſtruct your fellow creatures, and be aſſured that it is much eaſier to propagate truth than error. Mankind, animated by the deſire of happineſs, to which you will point the way, will liſten to you with attention. Make thoſe millions of hireling ſlaves bluſh, who are always ready, at the command of their maſters, to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. Rouſe all the powers of human nature to oppoſe this ſubverſion of ſocial laws. Teach mankind that liberty is the inſtitution of God; authority that of man. Expoſe thoſe myſterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkneſs: let the people be ſenſible how far their credulity has been impoſed upon; let them re-aſſume with one accord the uſe of their faculties, and vindicate the honour of the human race.

Besides the natives, the Portugueſe found Mohammedans in India, ſome of whom came from the borders of Africa. The greateſt part of them were deſcendants of the Arabs, who either ſettled here or made incurſions. They had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the countries as far as the Indus, by

the force of arms. The moſt enterprizing among them paſſed this river, and ſucceſſively penetrated into the extremities of the eaſt. On this immenſe continent they became the factors of Arabia and Egypt, and were treated with diſtinguiſhed reſpect by all the ſovereigns who wiſhed to keep up an intercourſe with theſe countries. Here they multiplied to a great degree; for as their religion allowed poligamy, they married in every place where they made any ſtay.

THEIR ſucceſs was ſtill more rapid and laſting in the iſlands that lie ſcattered in this ocean. The want of commerce procured them the beſt reception both from princes and their ſubjects. They ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities in theſe petty ſtates, and became the arbiters of government. They took advantage of the ſuperiority of their knowledge, and the ſupport they received from their country, to eſtabliſh an univerſal dominion. The deſpots and their vaſſals, in order to ingratiate themſelves with them, abandoned a religion to which they had no great attachment, for new opinions which might procure them ſome advantages. This ſacrifice coſt them the leſs, as the preachers of the Koran made no ſcruple of mixing ancient ſuperſtitions among thoſe they wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

THESE Mohammedan Arabs, who were apoſtles and merchants at the ſame time, had already propagated their religion by purchaſing a great number of ſlaves, to whom, after they had been circumciſed and inſtructed in their doctrine, they gave their freedom; but as a certain pride prevented

vented them from mixing their blood with that of theſe freedmen, the latter have in time become a diſtinct people, inhabiting the coaſt of the Indian peninſula from Goa to Madraſs; they are at preſent known in Malabar by the name of Pooliahs, and by that of Coolies in Coromandel; they underſtand neither the Perſian, the Arabian, nor the Mooriſh language, and confine themſelves to that of the countries in which they live; the generality are addicted to commerce, and profeſs a ſpecies of Mohammediſm extremely corrupted by the Indian ſuperſtitions.

INDOSTAN, which has ſince been almoſt entirely reduced by war under a foreign yoke, was, at the time of the arrival of the Portugueſe, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Biſnagar, Narzingua and Calicut, each of which reckoned ſeveral ſovereigns, more or leſs powerful, among their tributaries. The laſt of theſe monarchs, who is better known by the name of Zamorin, which anſwers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city, poſſeſſed the moſt maritime ſtates, and his empire extended over all Malabar.

THERE is an ancient tradition, that when the Arabs began to eſtabliſh themſelves in India in the eighth century, the king of Malabar took ſo great a fancy to their religion, that he not only embraced it, but determined to end his days at Mecca. Calicut, where he embarked, became a place ſo dear and reſpectable to the Moors, that they were inſenſibly led to make it the conſtant rendezvous of their ſhips. Thus by the ſole effect of this ſuperſtition,

perſtition, this harbour, incommodious and dangerous as it was, became the richeſt ſtaple of theſe countries. Precious ſtones, pearls, amber, ivory, china-ware, gold and ſilver, ſilks and cottons, indigo, ſugar, all kinds of ſpices, valuable woods, perfumes, beautiful varniſh, and whatever conduces to the elegance of life, were carried thither from all parts of the eaſt. Some of theſe rich commodities came by ſea; but as navigation was neither ſo ſafe nor purſued with ſo much ſpirit as it is now, a great deal was brought by land by buffaloes and elephants.

The Portugueſe eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar.

GAMA, having informed himſelf of theſe particulars, when he touched at Melinda, hired an able pilot to conduct him to that port in which trade was the moſt flouriſhing. Here he fortunately met with a Moor of Tunis, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and having ſeen with admiration the great atchievements of this nation on the coaſts of Barbary, conceived a fondneſs for it which overcame his prejudices. This predilection engaged the Moor to uſe all his intereſt in favour of theſe ſtrangers, who put themſelves entirely under his direction. He procured Gama an audience of the Zamorin, who propoſed an alliance, and a treaty of commerce with the king his maſter. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the Muſſulmen found means to throw a ſuſpicion upon a rival power, whoſe courage, activity and knowledge they dreaded. The reports they made to him of its ambition and reſtleſſneſs, made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the prince, that he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe adventurers

venturers to whom he had juſt before given ſo favourable a reception.

GAMA being informed of this change by his faithful guide, ſent his brother on board the fleet, telling him, *If you ſhould hear that I am thrown into priſon, or put to death, I forbid you, as your commander, either to come to my aſſiſtance, or revenge my death; ſet ſail immediately, and inform the king of the particulars of our voyage.*

THEY were happily not reduced to theſe extremities. The Zamorin, who wanted neither power nor inclination, wanted courage to put his deſign in execution; and the admiral had leave to return to his fleet. After making ſome well timed repriſals, which procured a reſtitution of the merchandiſe he had left as a pledge in Calicut, he ſailed for Europe.

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at Liſbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themſelves on the point of eſtabliſhing the richeſt commerce in the world, and being not only avaritious, but ſuperſtitious at the ſame time, flattered themſelves with the hopes of propagating their religion either by perſuaſion, or by the force of arms. The popes, who omitted no opportunity of confirming the opinion of their ſupreme authority upon earth, gave the Portugueſe all the coaſts they ſhould diſcover in the eaſt, and inſpired this little ſtate with all the folly of conqueſt.

NUMBERS were eager to embark on board the new fleet that was fitted out for an expedition to India. Thirteen veſſels that ſailed from the Tagus,

gus, under the command of Alvares Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and reſtored ſome of the Zamorin's ſubjects whom Gama had carried away with him. Theſe Indians ſpoke highly of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portugueſe; the Mooriſh party prevailed, and the people of Calicut, ſeduced by their intrigues, maſſacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral, in revenge, burnt all the Arabian veſſels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then ſailed firſt to Cochin and afterwards to Cananor.

The kings of both theſe towns gave him ſpices, offered him gold and ſilver, and propoſed an alliance with him againſt the Zamorin, to whom they were tributaries. The kings of Onor, Culan, and ſeveral other princes, made the ſame overtures; flattering themſelves that they ſhould all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, extend the frontiers of their ſtates, and ſee their harbours crouded with the ſpoils of Aſia. This general infatuation procured to the Portugueſe ſo great an aſcendant over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No ſovereign was ſuffered to enter into an alliance with them, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf dependent on the court of Liſbon, give leave that a citadel ſhould be built in his capital, and ſell his merchandiſe at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portugueſe had completed their lading; and no perſon was ſuffered to navigate theſe ſeas without producing paſſ-

ports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little interruption to their trade; with a ſmall number of men they defeated numerous armies; their enemies met with them every where, and always fled before them; and, in a ſhort time, the ſhips of the Moors, of the Zamorin and his dependents, no longer dared to make their appearance.

THE Portugueſe, thus become the conquerors of the eaſt, were perpetually ſending rich cargoes to their own country, which reſounded with the fame of their exploits. The port of Liſbon gradually became the reſort of all the traders in Europe, and the grand mart of Indian commodities; for the Portugueſe, who brought them immediately from India, ſold them at a lower rate than the merchants of other nations.

To ſecure and extend theſe advantages, it became neceſſary to call in the aid of reflection to correct and ſtrengthen what had hitherto been the offſpring of chance, a ſingular intrepidity, and a happy concurrence of circumſtances. It was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of power and commerce, which, at the ſame time, that it was extenſive enough to take in all objects, ſhould be ſo well connected, that all the parts of the grand ſtructure they meant to raiſe, ſhould mutually ſtrengthen each other. Notwithſtanding the information the court of Liſbon had received from the accounts tranſmitted from India, and the teſtimony of thoſe who had hitherto been intruſted with the management of her intereſts in that quarter, it wiſely repoſed

poſed all its confidence in Alphonſo Albuquerque, the moſt diſcerning of all the Portugueſe who had been in Aſia.

THE new viceroy acquitted himſelf beyond expectation: he found it neceſſary that Portugal ſhould have an eſtabliſhment which might eaſily be defended, where there was a good harbour and a wholeſome air, and where the Portugueſe might refreſh themſelves, after the fatigues of their paſſage from Europe. With this view he caſt his eyes upon Goa, which he foreſaw would be an important acquiſition to Liſbon.

GOA, which riſes in the form of an amphitheatre, is ſituated near the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an iſland ſeparated from the continent by the two branches of a river which falls into the ſea at ſome diſtance from the city, forming under its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. This iſland is reckoned to be ten leagues in circumference. Within this little ſpot are to be ſeen hills, vallies, woods, canals, ſprings of excellent water, a city magnificently built, market-towns and large villages. Before the entrance into the port, we obſerve the two peninſulas Salſet and Barda, which equally ſerve the purpoſes of defence and ſhelter. They are guarded by forts lined with artillery, where all ſhips are obliged to ſtop before they come to an anchor in the harbour.

GOA, though not ſo conſiderable at that time as it has been ſince, was looked upon as the moſt advantageous poſt in India. It belonged to the king of the Decan; but Idalcan, who was intruſted with

the government of it, had aſſumed an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this uſurper was purſuing his ſchemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa, took the city by ſtorm, and acquired this valuable advantage with very little loſs.

IDALCAN, apprized of the loſs the king had ſuſtained, did not heſitate a moment what meaſures he ſhould take. In conjunction even with the Indians his enemies, who were almoſt as much intereſted in this matter as himſelf, he marched towards the capital, with a degree of expedition never known before in that country. The Portugueſe having no firm footing, and finding themſelves unable to preſerve their conqueſt, retreated to their ſhips which kept their ſtation in the harbour, and ſent to Cochin for a reinforcement. While they were waiting for it, their proviſions failed. Idalcan offered them a ſupply, giving them to underſtand, *That he choſe to conquer by arms, and not by famine.* It was cuſtomary at that time, in the Indian wars, for the armies to ſuffer proviſions to be carried to their enemies. Albuquerque rejected the offer made him, with this reply, *That he would receive no preſents from Idalcan till they were friends.* The ſuccour he hourly expected never arrived.

THIS diſappointment determined him to retreat, and to poſtpone the execution of his darling project to a more favourable opportunity, which preſented itſelf a few months after. Idalcan being obliged to take the field again to preſerve his dominions from abſolute deſtruction, Albuquerque made

made a ſudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by ſtorm, and fortified himſelf in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, and ceaſed to be frequented by the Arabian veſſels, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portugueſe ſettlements in India.

THE natives of the country were too weak, too diſpirited, and too much at variance, to put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of this enterprizing nation. Nothing remained to be done but to guard againſt the Egyptians, nor was the leaſt precaution either omitted or neglected.

The manner of carrying on trade in India before the conqueſts of the Portugueſe.

EGYPT, which is conſidered as the parent of all hiſtorical antiquities, the ſource of policy, and the nurſery of arts and ſciences, after having remained for ages in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of the world, who were held in contempt by this wiſe country, underſtood and practiſed navigation. The inhabitants had long neglected the Mediterranean, where they did not certainly expect any great advantages, and directed their courſe towards the Indian ocean, which was the true channel of wealth.

STRUCK with the ſituation of this country between two ſeas, one of which opens the road to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt, Alexander formed the deſign of fixing the ſeat of his empire in Egypt, and of making it the centre of trade to the whole world. This prince, who had more diſcernment than any other conqueror, ſaw that if it were poſſible to form an union between his preſent and future acquiſitions, he muſt make choice of a coun-

try which nature ſeems to have placed, as it were, in contact with Africa and Aſia to connect them with Europe. The premature death of the greateſt commander that hiſtory and fable have held forth to the admiration of mankind, would for ever have annihilated theſe vaſt projects, had they not been in part purſued by Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants; who, upon the diviſion of the moſt magnificent ſpoil ever known, claimed Egypt for his ſhare.

In the reign of this new ſovereign and his immediate ſucceſſors, commerce made prodigious improvements. Alexandria was the mart of the merchandiſe that came from India, by the red ſea, to the port of Berenice.

A writer, who has entered deeply into this ſubject, and whoſe accounts we follow, tells us, that ſome of the numerous veſſels that were built in conſequence of theſe connections, traded only in the gulph with the Arabians and Abyſſinians. Among thoſe which ventured out into the main ocean, ſome of them ſailed ſouthward to the right along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, as far as the iſland of Madagaſcar; and others ſteering to the left towards the Perſian gulph, went even as far as the Euphrates, to trade with the people on its banks, particularly with the Greeks, whom Alexander had brought there with him in his expeditions. Others, grown ſtill more enterpriſing from the hopes of gain, penetrated as far as the mouths of the Indus, traverſed the coaſt of Malabar, and touched at the iſland of Ceylon, known by the ancients under the name of Taprobane. A very

ſmall number paſſed through the Coromandel to go up the river Ganges, as far as Palybotra, a town the moſt celebrated in India on account of its riches. Thus, induſtry proceeded by gradual advances, from one river or coaſt to another, to appropriate the productions of thoſe countries that abound moſt in fruits, flowers, perfumes, precious ſtones, and all the delicacies of voluptuous luxury.

The boats made uſe of in theſe expeditions were long and flat, not unlike thoſe that are ſeen upon the Nile. Before the invention of the compaſs, in conſequence of which, larger veſſels carrying more ſail were fitted out for the main ocean; it was neceſſary to row cloſe to the ſhore, and to follow the windings of the coaſt from one point of land to another. The ſides of the ſhips were alſo made leſs, in order to weaken the power of the wind over them; and the ſhips leſs deep, for fear of ſtriking againſt rocks, ſands, or ſhallows. Thus a voyage not ſo long by one-third as thoſe which are now performed in leſs than ſix months, ſometimes laſted five years or more. What their veſſels wanted in ſize, was ſupplied by their numbers; and the diſadvantages of their ſlow ſailing were compenſated by the frequent ſquadrons that were fitted out.

The Egyptians exported to India, as has been done ever ſince, woollen manufactures, iron, lead, copper, ſome ſmall pieces of workmanſhip in glaſs and ſilver, in exchange for ivory, ebony, tortoiſe-ſhell, white and printed linens, ſilks, pearls, precious ſtones, cinnamon, ſpices, and particularly

frankincenſe; which was a perfume the moſt in eſteem, on account of its being uſed in divine worſhip, and contributing to the gratification of princes. It ſold at ſo high a price, that the merchants adulterated under pretence of improving it. So apprehenſive is avarice of being defrauded by poverty, that the workmen who were employed in making it were naked; having only a girdle about their loins, the ends of which were ſealed by the ſuperintendant of the manufacture.

All the ſea-faring and trading nations in the Mediterranean reſorted to the ports of Egypt to purchaſe the produce of India. When Carthage and Corinth became the victims of the vices introduced by their opulence, the Egyptians were themſelves obliged to export the riches with which theſe cities formerly loaded their own veſſels. As their maritime power increaſed, they extended their navigation as far as Cadiz. They could ſcarcely ſupply the demands of Rome, whoſe luxury kept pace with its conqueſts; at the ſame time that they were arrived at ſuch a pitch of extravagance themſelves, that the accounts given of it have the air of romance. Cleopatra, with whom their empire and hiſtory expired, was as profuſe as ſhe was voluptuous. But notwithſtanding theſe incredible expences, the advantages they derived from the Indian trade were ſo great, that after they were ſubdued and ſpoiled, lands, proviſions, and merchandiſe, bore double the price at Rome. If Pliny may be credited, the conqueror, by reinſtating the conquered in this ſource of opulence, which was calculated rather to flatter their vanity

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than to aggrandize their power, gained twenty thouſand per cent. Though it is eaſy to ſee that this calculation is exaggerated, we may from thence form a conjecture what profits muſt have been reaped in thoſe diſtant ages, when the Indians were not ſo well acquainted with their own intereſt.

WHILE the Romans had virtue enough to preſerve the power acquired by their anceſtors, Egypt very much contributed to ſupport the dignity of the empire by the riches it brought thither from India. But the fulneſs of luxury, like the corpulency of the body, is a ſymptom of approaching decay. This vaſt empire ſunk under its own weight, and, like levers of wood or metal whoſe exceſſive length contributes to their weakneſs, broke into two parts.

EGYPT was annexed to the eaſtern empire, which laſted longer than that of the weſt; not being attacked ſo ſoon, or with ſo much vigour. If riches could have ſupplied the place of courage, its ſituation and reſources would even have made it invincible. But the inhabitants of this empire had nothing except ſtratagem to oppoſe againſt an enemy, who, beſide the enthuſiaſm of a new religion, were animated with all the ſtrength of an uncivilized people. A torrent thus increaſing, as it deſtroyed every thing in its paſſage, was not to be ſtopped by ſo ſlight a barrier. In the ſeventh century it laid waſte ſeveral provinces, and Egypt amongſt the reſt; which after having been one of the principal empires of antiquity, and the model of all modern monarchies, was at length deſtined

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to ſink into a ſtate of languor and oblivion, in which it remains to this day.

The Greeks comforted themſelves under this misfortune, on finding that the wars of the Saracens had diverted the ſtream of the Indian commerce from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, by two well-known channels. One of theſe was the Euxine or black ſea, where it was uſual to embark to go up the Phaſis. Large veſſels were at firſt employed, and afterwards ſmaller ones were introduced, which ſailed as far as Serapanna; from whence, in four or five days, the merchants conveyed their commodities by land-carriage to the river Cyrus, which falls into the Caſpian ſea. Having croſſed this tempeſtuous ocean, they arrived at the mouth of the Oxus, which extended almoſt as far as the ſource of the Indus, and from whence they returned the ſame way, laden with the treaſures of Aſia. Such was one of the means of communication between this continent, always naturally rich, and that of Europe, which was then poor, and ruined by its own inhabitants.

The other channel of communication was more eaſy. The Indian veſſels, ſailing from different coaſts, paſſed the Perſian gulph, and arrived at the banks of the Euphrates, where they unloaded their cargo; which, from this river, was in one day ſent by land-carriage to Palmyra. This city, the ruins of which ſtill preſerve an idea of its opulence, tranſported this merchandiſe through the deſerts to the confines of Syria. By this rich commerce, it became more flouriſhing than could have been expected from its ſandy ſituation. Since its deſtruction,

deſtruction, the caravans, after ſome changes, conſtantly took the road of Aleppo, which, by means of the port of Alexandretta, turned the current of wealth to Conſtantinople, that was at length become the general market of the productions of India.

This advantage might alone have retarded the fall of the empire, and, perhaps, have reſtored it to its ancient grandeur: but that grandeur had been acquired by its arms, its virtues, and its frugal manners; and it was now deſtitute of all thoſe means of maintaining its proſperity. The Greeks, corrupted by the prodigious acceſſion of wealth, which their excluſive commerce poured in upon them almoſt without any care or activity of their own, abandoned themſelves to an indolent and effeminate way of life, which infallibly leads to luxury; fond only of the trivial amuſements of glittering ſhows, and the voluptuous refinements of art; of futile, obſcure, and ſophiſtical diſquiſitions on matters of taſte, ſentiment, and even religion and politics. They could ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed, but knew not how to aſſert their right to be properly governed; and alternately made their court to tyrants by the moſt abject adulation, or irritated them by a faint reſiſtance. Theſe people were bought by the emperors, who ſold them to all the monopolizers who aimed to enrich themſelves by the ruin of the ſtate. The government, ſtill more corrupted than its ſubjects, ſuffered its navy to decay, and placed its whole dependence on the treaties it entered into with

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the ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips frequented its ports. The Italians had inſenſibly engroſſed the article of tranſportation, which the Greeks had for a long time kept in their own hands. This branch of buſineſs, which is rather laborious than profitable, was doubly uſeful to a trading nation, whoſe chief riches conſiſt in maintaining their vigour by labour. Indolence haſtened the deſtruction of Conſtantinople, which was preſſed and ſurrounded on all ſides by the conqueſts of the Turks. The Genoeſe fell into the precipice which their perfidy and avarice had digged for them. Mohammed the ſecond drove them from Caffa, to which place they had, of late years, drawn the greateſt part of the Aſiatic trade.

THE Venetians did not wait for this event to give them an opportunity of reviving their connections with Egypt. They had experienced more indulgence than they expected from a government eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt cruſades, and nearly reſembling that of Algiers. The Mammelucs, who at the time of theſe wars had taken poſſeſſion of a throne they had hitherto ſupported, were for the moſt part ſlaves brought from Circaſſia in their infancy, and trained up early to a military life. The ſupreme authority was veſted in a chief, and a council compoſed of four-and-twenty principal perſons. This military corps, which eaſe would unavoidably have enervated, was recruited every year, by a multitude of brave adventurers, who flocked from all parts, with a view of making their fortune. Theſe needy people were prevailed upon, by a ſum of money and promiſes,

promiſes, to conſent that their country ſhould be made the mart of Indian merchandiſe. Thus they were bribed into a meaſure, which the political intereſt of their ſtate always required them to adopt. The inhabitants of Piſa and Florence, the Catalans, and the Genoeſe, received ſome benefit from this change; but it was of ſignal advantage to the Venetians, by whoſe management it was effected. Affairs were in this ſituation when the Portugueſe made their appearance in India.

THIS great event, and the conſequences that immediately followed it, occaſioned much uneaſineſs at Venice. This republic, ſo celebrated for its wiſdom, had lately been diſconcerted by a league which it could not oppoſe, and certainly did not foreſee. Several princes of different intereſts who were rivals in power, and had pretenſions of an oppoſite nature, united, in defiance of all the rules of juſtice and policy, to deſtroy a ſtate which had not given any of them the leaſt umbrage; and even Lewis the XIIth, whoſe intereſt was moſt concerned in the preſervation of Venice, brought it to the brink of ruin by the victory of Aignadelle. The quarrels which muſt neceſſarily ariſe among ſuch allies, joined to the prudence of the republic, ſaved it from this danger; which, though more imminent in appearance, was, in fact, not ſo great nor ſo immediate as that they were now expoſed to by the diſcovery of a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

VENICE

VENICE ſoon perceived that her commerce, and conſequently her power, was on the point of being transferred to the Portugueſe. Every expedient was tried that an able adminiſtration could ſuggeſt. Some of the ſkilful emiſſaries, which the ſtate took care to retain and employ dexterouſly in all places, perſuaded the Arabs ſettled in their country, and thoſe that were diſperſed over India, or the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, that as their intereſt was equally concerned with that of Venice, they ought to unite with her againſt a nation, which had made itſelf miſtreſs of the common ſource of their riches.

THE rumour of this league reached the Sultan of Egypt, whoſe attention was already awakened by the misfortunes he felt, as well as thoſe he foreſaw. The cuſtoms, which conſtituted a principal branch of his revenue, and by which five per cent. was levied on the importation, and ten on the exportation of Indian goods, began to bring in little or nothing. The frequent bankruptcies, which were the neceſſary conſequence of the embarraſſment of affairs, exaſperated men's minds againſt the government, which is always reſponſible to the people for the calamities they endure. The militia, which was ill paid, fearing that their pay would be ſtill more precarious, raiſed mutinies, which are more to be dreaded on the decline of a ſtate, than in the time of its proſperity. Egypt was equally a ſufferer by the trade carried on by the Portugueſe, and by the obſtructions their own was expoſed to by their encroachments.

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THE Egyptians might have extricated themſelves from theſe inconveniencies by fitting out a fleet; but the red ſea afforded no materials for the building of ſhips. The Venetians removed this obſtacle by ſending wood, and other materials to Alexandria. They were conveyed by the Nile to Cairo, from whence they were carried by camels to Suez. From this celebrated port, in the year 1508, four large veſſels, one galleon, two gallies, and three galliots, ſailed to India.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the red ſea.

THE Portugueſe, who foreſaw this confederacy, had the preceding year laid a ſcheme to prevent it, by making themſelves maſters of the red ſea: ſecure, that with this advantage they ſhould have nothing to fear from this connection, nor from the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. With this view, they formed a plan to ſeize upon the iſland of Socotora, well known by the name of Dioſcorides to the ancients, from the abundance and excellence of its aloes. It lies in the gulph of the red ſea, a hundred and eighty leagues from the ſtraits of Babelmandel formed by the Cape of Guardafui on the African ſide, and by the Cape of Fartack on the ſide of Arabia.

TRISTAN D'ACUGNA ſailed from Portugal with a conſiderable armament to attack this iſland. Upon his landing, he was encountered by Ibrahim, ſon of the king of the people of Fartack, who was ſovereign of part of Arabia and Socotora. This young prince was killed in the engagement; the Portugueſe beſieged the only town that was in the iſland, and carried it by ſtorm, though it was defended to the

the laſt extremity by a garriſon ſuperior in number to their ſmall army. The ſoldiers that compoſed this garriſon determined not to ſurvive the ſon of their ſovereign, refuſed to capitulate, and were all, to the laſt man, put to the ſword. D'Acugna's troops, by their intrepidity, proved an over-match for their bravery.

THIS ſucceſsful enterpriſe was not attended with the advantages that were expected from it. It was found that the iſland was barren, that it had no port, and that the ſhips that came from the red ſea never touched there, though they could not enter the gulph without taking an obſervation of it. Accordingly, the Egyptian fleet found a ſafe paſſage into the Indian ocean, where it joined that of Cambaya. Theſe united armaments had the advantage of the Portugueſe, who were conſiderably weakened by the great number of veſſels they had lately fitted out to carry merchandiſe to Europe. This triumph, however, did not laſt long; the conquered party got reinforcements, and regained their ſuperiority, which they ever after preſerved. The armaments, which continued to come from Egypt, were always beaten and diſperſed by the ſmall Portugueſe ſquadrons that cruized at the entrance of the gulph.

As, however, theſe ſkirmiſhes kept up a conſtant alarm, and occaſioned ſome expence, Albuquerque thought it incumbent on him to put an end to them by the deſtruction of Suez. But a thouſand obſtacles oppoſed the execution of this project.

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THE red ſea, which takes its name from the corals, madrepores, and marine plants, which cover the bottom of it almoſt throughout; or, perhaps, only from the ſand which diſcolours its waters, is bordered on one ſide by Arabia, and on the other by Upper Ethiopia and Egypt. It meaſures ſix hundred and eighty leagues from the iſland of Socotora to the famous Iſthmus, which unites Africa to Aſia. As its length is very conſiderable, and its breadth ſmall, and no river falls into it of ſufficient force to counteract the influence of the tide, it is more affected by the motions of the great ocean, than any of the inland ſeas nearly in the ſame latitude. It is not much expoſed to tempeſts; the winds uſually blow from the north and ſouth, and being periodical like the monſoons in India, invariably determine the ſeaſon of ſailing into or out of this ſea. It may be divided into three parts; the middle diviſion is open and navigable at all times, its depth being from twenty-five to ſixty fathoms. The other two, which lie nearer the land, though they abound in rocks, are more frequented by the neighbouring nations; who being obliged to keep cloſe to the ſhore on account of the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, never launch out into the principal channel, unleſs they expect a ſquall of wind. The difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility, of landing in the harbours on this coaſt, makes the navigation dangerous for veſſels of large burthen, not to mention the great number of deſert iſlands they meet with in their paſſage, which are barren, and afford no freſh water.

ALBUQUERQUE, notwithſtanding his abilities, experience, and reſolution, could not ſurmount ſo many obſtacles. After entering a conſiderable way into the red ſea, he was obliged to return with his fleet, which had ſuffered perpetual hardſhips, and been expoſed to the greateſt dangers. He was prompted by a reſtleſs and cruel ſpirit of enterprize, to employ methods for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, which, though of a ſtill bolder caſt, he thought could not fail of ſucceſs. He wanted to prevail with the emperor of Ethiopia, who ſolicited the protection of Portugal, to turn the courſe of the Nile ſo as to open a paſſage for him into the red ſea. Egypt would then have become in a great meaſure uninhabitable, or at leaſt unfit for commerce. In the mean time he propoſed to tranſport into Arabia, by the gulph of Perſia, three or four hundred horſe, which he thought would be ſufficient to plunder Medina and Mecca. He imagined that by ſo bold an expedition, he ſhould ſtrike terror into the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to that prodigious concourſe of pilgrims which was the chief ſupport of a trade he wanted totally to extirpate.

OTHER enterprizes of a leſs hazardous nature, and attended with more immediate advantage, led him to poſtpone the ruin of a power, whoſe influence as a rival was the only circumſtance neceſſary to be guarded againſt at the preſent juncture. The conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks, a few years after, made it requiſite to act with the greateſt precaution. Thoſe men of genius, who were well qualified to purſue the ſerics of events which had preceded

ceded and followed the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, and to form deep conjectures concerning the revolutions which this new track of navigation muſt neceſſarily prevent, could not help conſidering this remarkable tranſaction as the moſt important æra in the hiſtory of the world.

EUROPE began to recover its ſtrength by ſlow degrees, and to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery, which had diſgraced its inhabitants from the time of the Roman conqueſts down to the inſtitution of the feudal laws. Innumerable tyrants, who kept multitudes in a ſtate of oppreſſion and ſlavery, had been ruined by the folly of the cruſades. To defray the expences of theſe wild expeditions, they were obliged to ſell their lands and caſtles, and for a pecuniary conſideration to allow their vaſſals ſome privileges, which at length almoſt re-inſtated them in the order of human beings. From that time the right of property began to be introduced among private perſons, and gave them that kind of independence, without which, property itſelf is a mere illuſion. Thus the firſt dawnings of liberty in Europe were, however unexpectedly, owing to the cruſades; and the rage of conqueſt for once contributed to the welfare of mankind.

IF Vaſco de Gama had not made his diſcoveries, the ſpirit of liberty would have been again extinguiſhed, and probably without hopes of a revival. The Turks had lately expelled thoſe ſavage nations, who, pouring from the extremities of the globe, had driven out the Romans, to become,

like them, the ſcourges of human kind; and our barbarous inſtitutions would have been followed by oppreſſions ſtill more intolerable. This muſt inevitably have been the caſe, if the ſavage conquerors of Egypt had not been repulſed by the Portugueſe in their ſeveral expeditions to India. Their poſſeſſion of the riches of Aſia would have ſecured their claim to thoſe of Europe. As the trade of the whole world was in their hands, they muſt conſequently have had the greateſt maritime force that ever was known. What oppoſition could our continent then have made to the progreſs of a people whoſe religion and policy equally animated them to conqueſt?

Dissentions prevailed in England on account of its liberties; France contended for the intereſts of its ſovereigns; Germany for thoſe of its religion; and Italy was employed in adjuſting the mutual claims of a tyrant and an impoſtor. Europe, overrun with fanatics and armies, reſembled a ſick perſon, who falling into a delirium, in the tranſport of madneſs opens his veins till he faints with loſs of blood and ſpirits. In this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy, it was ill prepared to reſiſt the inroads of the Turks.

As the calm which ſucceeds the violence of civil wars makes a nation formidable to its neighbours; ſo the diſſentions which divide it as certainly expoſe it to ravage and oppreſſion. The depraved morals of the clergy would likewiſe have favoured the introduction of a new worſhip; and we ſhould have been condemned to a ſtate of ſlavery without any hopes of relief. In truth, there is not one among all

all the political and religious ſyſtems that oppreſs mankind, which allows ſo little ſcope to liberty as that of the Muſſulmen. Throughout almoſt all Europe, a religion foreign to government, and introduced without its patronage; rules of morality diſperſed without order or preciſion in obſcure writings, capable of an endleſs variety of interpretations; authority engroſſed by prieſts and princes, who are perpetually conteſting their right to rule over their fellow-creatures; political and civil inſtitutions daily formed in contradicton to the prevailing religion, which condemns ambition and inequality of rank; a turbulent and enterpriſing adminiſtration, which, in order to tyrannize with a higher hand, is perpetually ſetting one part of the ſtate at variance with the other: all theſe principles of diſcord muſt neceſſarily keep the minds of men in conſtant agitation. Is it ſurpriſing that on the view of this tumultuous ſcene, nature alarmed ſhould riſe up in our hearts, and cry out, "Is "man born free?"

But when men once became ſlaves to a religion which conſecrates tyranny by eſtabliſhing the throne upon the altar; which ſeems to check the ſallies of ambition by encouraging voluptuouſneſs, and cheriſhes a ſpirit of indolence by forbidding the exerciſe of the underſtanding: there is no reaſon to hope for any conſiderable revolutions. Thus the Turks, who frequently ſtrangle their maſter, have never entertained a thought of changing their government. This is an idea beyond the reach of minds enervated and corrupted like theirs. Hence

it appears, that the whole world would have loſt its liberty, had not the moſt ſuperſtitious, and, perhaps, the moſt enſlaved nation in Chriſtendom checked the progreſs of the fanaticiſm of the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to the career of their victories, by depriving them of thoſe ſources of wealth which were neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterprizes. Albuquerque went ſtill further; not ſatisfied with having taken effectual meaſures to prevent any veſſel from paſſing from the Arabian ſea to the Indian ocean, he attempted to get the command of the Perſian gulph.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian gulph.

At the mouth of the ſtrait of Mocandon, which leads into the Perſian gulph, lies the iſland of Gombroon. In the eleventh century an Arabian conqueror built upon this barren rock the city of Ormus, which afterwards became the capital of an empire, comprehending a conſiderable part of Arabia on one ſide, and of Perſia on the other. Ormus had two good harbours, and was large and well fortified; its riches and ſtrength were entirely owing to its ſituation. It was the center of trade between Perſia and India; which was very conſiderable, if we remember that the Perſians at that time cauſed the greateſt part of the merchandiſe of Aſia to be conveyed to Europe from the ports of Syria and Caffa. At the time of the arrival of the foreign merchants, Ormus afforded a more ſplendid and agreeable ſcene than any city in the eaſt. Perſons from all parts of the globe exchanged their commodities, and tranſacted their buſineſs, with an air of politeneſs and attention

attention which are ſeldom ſeen in other places of trade.

THESE manners were introduced by the merchants belonging to the port, who engaged foreigners to imitate their affability. Their addreſs, the regularity of their police, and the variety of entertainments which their city afforded, joined to the intereſts of commerce, invited merchants to make it a place of reſort. The ſtreets were covered with mats, and in ſome places with carpets; and the linen awnings which were ſuſpended from the tops of the houſes prevented any inconvenience from the heat of the ſun. Indian cabinets ornamented with gilded vaſes, or china filled with flowering ſhrubs, or aromatic plants, adorned their apartments. Camels laden with water were ſtationed in the public ſquares. Perſian wines, perfumes, and all the delicacies of the table were furniſhed in the greateſt abundance, and they had the muſic of the eaſt in its higheſt perfection. Ormus was crouded with beautiful women from all parts of Aſia, who were inſtructed from their infancy in all the arts of varying and heightening the pleaſures of voluptuous love. In ſhort, univerſal opulence, an extenſive commerce, a refined luxury, politeneſs in the men, and gallantry in the women, united all their attractions to make this city the ſeat of pleaſure.

ALBUQUERQUE, on his arrival in India, began to ravage the coaſts, and to plunder the towns that belonged to the juriſdiction of Ormus: though theſe inroads, which ſhewed more of the robber than of the conqueror, were naturally repugnant to Albu-

querque's character, he thought himſelf obliged to have recourſe to them, in order to induce a power he was not in a condition to ſubdue by force, to ſubmit voluntarily to the yoke he wanted to impoſe. As ſoon as he imagined the alarm was ſpread ſufficiently to favour his deſign, he appeared before the capital, and ſummoned the king to acknowledge himſelf tributary to Portugal, as he was to Perſia. This propoſal was received in the manner it deſerved. A fleet compoſed of ſhips from Ormus, Arabia, and Perſia, came to an engagement with Albuquerque's ſquadron, who with five veſſels deſtroyed the whole armament. The king, diſcouraged by his ill ſucceſs, conſented that the conqueror ſhould erect a fort which might command the city and both its harbours.

ALBUQUERQUE, who knew the importance of ſeizing the preſent conjuncture, carried on the work with the utmoſt expedition. He laboured as hard as the meaneſt of his followers; but this ſpirit of activity could not prevent the enemy from taking notice of the ſmallneſs of his numbers. Atar, who, in conſequence of the revolutions ſo frequent in the eaſt, had been raiſed from the condition of a ſlave to that of a prime miniſter, was aſhamed of having ſacrificed the ſtate to a handful of adventurers. As his talent lay rather in the arts of policy than of war, he determined to repair the ill conſequences of his timidity by ſtratagem. By the arts of inſinuation and bribery, he ſucceeded ſo far in ſowing diſſentions among the Portugueſe, and prejudicing them againſt their leader, that they were frequently ready

ready to take arms againſt each other. This animoſity, which increaſed every day, determined them to reimbark at the inſtant they were informed that a plot was concerted to maſſacre them. Albuquerque, whoſe ſpirit roſe ſuperior to oppoſition and diſcontent, reſolved to ſtarve the place, and deprive it of ſuccours by cutting off all communication. It muſt certainly have fallen into his hands, had not three of his captains ſhamefully abandoned him, and gone off with their ſhips. To juſtify their deſertion, they were guilty of ſtill blacker perfidy, in accuſing their general of the moſt atrocious crimes.

THIS treachery obliged Albuquerque to defer the execution of his deſign for ſome time, till he he had all the national troops at his command. As ſoon as he was appointed viceroy, he appeared before Ormus with ſo ſtrong an armament, that a debauched court and an effeminate people, finding it in vain to make any reſiſtance, were obliged to ſubmit. The ſovereign of Perſia had the confidence to demand tribute of the conqueror. Albuquerque ordered ſome bullets, grenades, and ſabres to be produced to the envoy, telling him, that this was the kind of tribute paid by the king of Portugal.

AFTER this expedition, the power of the Portugueſe was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Arabian and Perſian gulphs, and on the Malabar coaſt, that they began to think of extending their conqueſts into the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

ALBU-

BOOK I.

The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon.

ALBUQUERQUE's firſt attempt was on the iſland of Ceylon, which is eighty leagues long, and thirty at its greateſt breadth. It was anciently known by the name of Taprobane. We have no accounts tranſmitted to us of the revolutions it has undergone. All that hiſtory relates worthy of remark is, that the laws were formerly held in ſo high eſteem, that the monarch was under the ſame obligation of obſerving them as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he violated them, he was condemned to death; with this mark of diſtinction, however, that he did not ſuffer in an ignominious manner. He was denied all intercourſe, all the comforts and ſupports of life: and, in this kind of excommunication, miſerably ended his days.

WHEN the Portugueſe landed in Ceylon they found it well peopled, and inhabited by two nations, who differed from each other in their manners, their government, and their religion. The Bedas, who were ſettled in the northern parts of the iſland, where the country was leſs fertile, were diſtinguiſhed into tribes, which conſidered themſelves as ſo many families headed by a chief, whoſe power was not abſolute. They go almoſt naked, and, upon the whole, their manners and government are the ſame with that of the Highlanders in Scotland. Theſe tribes, who unite for the common defence, have always bravely fought for their liberty, and have never invaded that of their neighbours. Their religion is little known, and it is uncertain whether they have any form of worſhip. They have little intercourſe with ſtrangers; keep a watchful

a watchful eye over thoſe who travel through the diſtrict they inhabit; treat them well, and ſend them away as ſoon as poſſible. This caution is owing in part to the jealouſy the Bedas entertain of their wives, which contributes to eſtrange them from all the world. They ſeem to be the firſt inhabitants of the iſland.

THE ſouthern part is poſſeſſed by a more numerous and powerful people, called Cinglaſſes. This nation is polite, in compariſon of the other. They wear clothes, and live under an arbitrary government. They have a diſtinction of caſts, as well as the Indians; but their religion is different. They acknowledge one ſupreme being, and in ſubordination to him divinities of the ſecond and third order: all which have their prieſts. Among the deities of the ſecond order, particular honours are paid to Buddou, who deſcended upon earth to take upon himſelf the office of mediator between God and mankind. The prieſts of Buddou are perſons of great conſequence in Ceylon. They are never puniſhable by the prince, even for an attempt againſt his life. The Cinglaſſes underſtand the art of war. They know how to take advantage of the natural ſecurity their mountains afford againſt the attacks of the Europeans, whom they have often conquered. Like all people in arbitrary ſtates, they are deceitful, ſelfiſh, and full of compliment. They have two languages: one peculiar to the people, the other to the learned. Wherever this cuſtom prevails, it furniſhes prieſts and princes with

with a further opportunity of impoſing upon mankind.

Both theſe nations enjoyed the benefits of the fruits, the corn, and the paſture which abounded in the iſland. They had elephants without number; precious ſtones, and the only kind of cinnamon that was ever eſteemed. On the northern coaſt, and on the fiſhing coaſts which borders upon it, was carried on the greateſt pearl fiſhery in the eaſt. The harbours of Ceylon were the beſt in India, and its ſituation was ſuperior to all its other advantages.

It ſhould ſeem to have been the intereſt of the Portugueſe to have placed all their ſtrength in this iſland. It lies in the center of the eaſt; and is the paſſage that leads to the richeſt countries. All the ſhips that come from Europe, Arabia and Perſia, cannot avoid paying a kind of homage to Ceylon; and the monſoons, which alternately blow from different points, make it eaſy for veſſels to come in and go out at all ſeaſons of the year. It might have been well peopled and fortified with a ſmall number of men, and at very little expence. The numerous ſquadrons that might have been ſent out from every port in the iſland would have kept all Aſia in awe; and the ſhips that might cruize in thoſe latitudes, would have intercepted the trade of other nations.

The viceroy overlooked theſe advantages. He alſo neglected the coaſt of Coromandel, though richer than that of Malabar. The merchandiſe of the latter was of an inferior quality: it produced plenty of proviſions, a ſmall quantity of bad cinnamon,

namon, ſome pepper and cardamon, a kind of ſpice much uſed by the eaſtern people. The coaſt of Coromandel furniſhed the fineſt cottons in the world. Its inhabitants, who for the moſt part were natives of the country, and had leſs intercourſe with the Arabians and other nations, were the moſt humane and induſtrious of all the people in Indoſtan. To this we may add, that the paſſage along the coaſt of Coromandel towards the north, leads to the mines of Golconda: beſides that, this coaſt is admirably ſituated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Albuquerque made no ſettlement there. The ſettlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan were not formed till afterwards. He knew that this coaſt was deſtitute of harbours, and inacceſſible at certain periods of the year, when it would be impoſſible for the fleets to protect the colonies. In ſhort, he thought that when the Portugueſe had made themſelves maſters of Ceylon, a conqueſt begun by his predeceſſor d'Almeyda, and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got poſſeſſion of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

THE country, of which Malacca is the capital city, is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coaſt, where it borders on the ſtate of Siam, or, more properly, the kingdom of Johor, which has been ſeparated from it. The reſt is ſurrounded by the ſea, and divided from the iſland

The Portugueſe conquer Malacca.

of

of Sumatra by a channel which is called the ſtraits of Malacca.

NATURE had amply provided for the happineſs of the Malays, by placing them in a mild, healthy climate, where refreſhing gales and cooling ſtreams allay the fervour of the torrid zone; where the ſoil pours forth an abundance of delicious fruits to ſatisfy the wants of a ſavage life; and where it is capable of anſwering, by cultivation, all the neceſſary demands of ſociety; where the trees wear an eternal verdure, and the flowers bloom in a perpetual ſucceſſion; where the moſt delicate and fragrant odours breathing from aromatic plants, perfume the air, and infuſe a ſpirit of voluptuous delight into all living beings.

BUT while nature has done every thing in favour of the Malays, ſociety has done them every poſſible injury. Such has been the influence of a tyrannical government, that the inhabitants of the happieſt country in the univerſe have become remarkable for the ferocity of their manners. The feudal ſyſtem, which was firſt planned among the rocks and woods of the north, has extended itſelf even to the foreſts and mild regions of the equator, where every thing conſpires to promote the enjoyment of a long life of tranquillity, which can only be ſhortened by a too frequent and exceſſive indulgence in pleaſures. This enſlaved nation is under the dominion of an arbitrary prince, or rather of twenty tyrants, his repreſentatives. Thus the deſpotiſm of a ſultan ſeems to extend its oppreſſive influence to multitudes, by being divided among a number of powerful vaſſals.

THIS

THIS turbulent and oppreſſive ſcene gave riſe to an univerſal ſavageneſs of manners. In vain did heaven and earth ſhower their bleſſings upon Malacca; theſe bleſſings only ſerved to make its inhabitants ungrateful and unhappy. The maſters let out their ſervices, or rather thoſe of their dependents, for hire, to the beſt bidder, regardleſs of the loſs that agriculture would ſuſtain for want of hands. They preferred a wandering and adventurous life, either by ſea or land, to induſtry. This people had conquered a large Archipelago, well known in the eaſt by the name of the Malayan Iſlands. The numerous colonies that were tranſplanted thither, carried with them their laws, their manners, their cuſtoms, and, what is ſomething remarkable, the ſofteſt language in all Aſia.

THE ſituation of Malacca had, however, made it the moſt conſiderable market in India; its harbour was conſtantly crouded with veſſels either from Japan, China, the Philippine and Molucca iſlands, and the adjacent part of the eaſtern coaſt; or from Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar, Perſia, Arabia, and Africa. Theſe merchants carried on a ſafe trade among themſelves, or with the inhabitants: the paſſion of the Malays for plunder had at length given way to advantages of a more certain nature than the precarious and doubtful ſucceſs of piratical expeditions.

THE Portugueſe were deſirous of having a ſhare in the general commerce of Aſia. At firſt they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants; but their uſurpations in India rendered their deſigns

ſigns ſo much ſuſpected, and the animoſity of the Arabians had circulated reports ſo much to their diſadvantage, that meaſures were taken to deſtroy them. They fell into the ſnares that were laid for them; ſeveral of them were maſſacred, and others thrown into priſon. Thoſe who eſcaped got back to their ſhips, and retreated to the Malabar coaſt.

THOUGH Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of ſeizing Malacca, he was not diſpleaſed at this incident, ſince it gave his enterprize an appearance of juſtice that might leſſen the odium which ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally have drawn upon the Portugueſe name. As an impreſſion ſo favourable to his views might be weakened by delay, he did not hefitate a moment to take his revenge. The enemy expected a ſudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before the place, in the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readineſs to receive him.

BUT formidable as theſe preparations appeared, there was a ſtill greater obſtacle, which for ſome days damped the valour of the chriſtian general; his friend Araûjo had been taken priſoner in the firſt expedition, and the enemy threatened to put him to death the moment the ſiege ſhould begin. Albuquerque, who did not want ſenſibility, pauſed at the proſpect of his friend's danger, when he received the following billet: *Think of nothing but the glory and advantage of Portugal; if I cannot contribute towards your victory, at leaſt let me not be the means of preventing it.* The place was attacked and carried after ſeveral doubtful, bloody, and obſtinate en-

gagements. They found in it immenſe treaſure, vaſt magazines, and whatever could contribute to the elegancies and pleaſures of life; and a fort was erected there to ſecure the conqueſt.

As the Portugueſe contented themſelves with the poſſeſſion of the city, the inhabitants, who profeſſed a kind of corrupt Mohammediſm, and were unwilling to ſubmit to their new maſters, either retired into the inland parts, or diſperſed themſelves along the coaſt. Having loſt the ſpirit of commerce, they relapſed into all the exceſſes of their violent character. Theſe people never go without a poniard, which they call *crid*. The invention of this murderous weapon ſeems to have exhauſted all the powers of their ſanguinary genius. Nothing is more to be dreaded than ſuch men armed with ſuch an inſtrument. When they get on board a veſſel, they ſtab all the crew at the time when no harm is ſuſpected. Since their treachery has been known, all the Europeans take care never to employ a Malayan ſailor; but theſe barbarians, who always made it a rule to attack the weaker party, have now changed this ancient cuſtom, and, animated by an unaccountable reſolution to kill or be killed, come in boats with thirty men to board our veſſels, and ſometimes ſucceed in carrying them off: if they were repulſed, they have the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of having imbrued their hands in blood.

People who derive from nature ſuch inflexible bravery, may be exterminated, but cannot be ſubdued by force. They are only to be civilized by humane treatment, by the allurements of riches or liberty, by the

influence of virtue and moderation, and by a mild government. They muſt be reſtored to their rights, or left to themſelves, before we can hope to eſtabliſh any intercourſe with them. To attempt to reduce them by conqueſt, is, perhaps, the laſt method that ſhould be tried; as it will only increaſe their abhorrence of a foreign yoke, and diſcourage them from entering into any ſocial engagements. Nature has placed certain people in the midſt of the ocean, like lions in the deſerts, that they may enjoy their liberty. Tempeſts, ſands, foreſts, mountains and caverns, are the places of refuge and defence to all independent beings. Civilized nations ſhould take care how they invade the rights, or rouze the ſpirits of iſlanders and ſavages: as they may be aſſured that they will become cruel and barbarous to no purpoſe; that their ravages will make them deteſted; and that diſgrace and revenge are the only laurels they can expect to obtain.

AFTER the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam, Pegu, and ſeveral others, alarmed at a conqueſt ſo fatal to their independence, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to deſire an alliance with Portugal.

Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Moluccas iſlands.

AFFAIRS being in this ſituation, a ſquadron was detached from the fleet to the Moluccas. Theſe iſlands, which lie in the Indian ocean near the equinoxial, are ten in number, including as uſual thoſe of Banda. The largeſt is not more than twelve leagues in circumference, and the others are much ſmaller.

It is not known who were the firſt inhabitants; but it is certain that the Javans and the Malays have ſucceſſively been in poſſeſſion of them. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century they were inhabited by a kind of ſavages, whoſe chiefs, though honoured with the title of kings, poſſeſſed only a limited authority, totally dependent on the caprice of their ſubjects. They had of late years joined the ſuperſtitions of Mohammediſm to thoſe of Paganiſm, which they had profeſſed for a conſiderable time. Their indolence was exceſſive. Their only employment was hunting and fiſhing; and they were ſtrangers to all kind of agriculture. They were encouraged in their inactivity by the advantages they derived from the cocoa tree.

The cocoa is a tree whoſe roots are ſo ſlender and ſo ſuperficial, that it is frequently blown down by the wind. Its trunk, which riſes to the height of thirty or forty feet, is ſtraight, of a middling thickneſs, and every where of the ſame diameter. It is of ſo ſpongy a nature, that it is unfit for ſhip-timber, or for any building that requires ſolidity. The tuft is compoſed of ten or twelve leaves, which are large, long, and thick, and are made uſe of in covering the roofs of houſes. From this tuft, which is renewed thrice every year, at every renewal there ariſe very large buds, from each of which hang ten or twelve cocoas, which, including their ſhells, are more than half a foot in diameter. The outer coat of the nut conſiſts of filaments, which are uſed for coarſe ſtuffs, and ſhip cables. Of the next coat, which

is very hard, are made ſmall cups, and other domeſtic utenſils. The inſide of this ſhell is filled with a white firm pulp, from which is expreſſed an oil much uſed in India. It is ſweet, as long as it continues freſh, but it contracts a bitter taſte when it is kept long, and is then only proper for burning. The ſediment that remains in the preſs, affords nouriſhment for cattle, poultry, and even the lower kind of people in times of ſcarcity. The pulp of the cocoa contains a liquid which is extremely refreſhing, and quenches the thirſt of labouring people both at ſea and land. This liquor is very wholeſome, but has a ſweet inſipid taſte.

When theſe buds are cut at the extremity, veſſels are placed to receive the white liquor that diſtils from them; which if drawn off before ſunriſe, and drunk while it is freſh, has the flavour of ſweet wine. It afterwards turns ſour, and makes good vinegar. When diſtilled in its higheſt perfection, it produces a ſtrong brandy: and boiled with quick-lime, yields a middling kind of ſugar. The trees from which this liquor has been extracted, bear no fruit; the juices being exhauſted, which ſerve to produce and nouriſh the kernel.

Besides this tree, which is common in all parts of India, the Moluccas produce a ſingular plant, which is called ſago. This tree affords a nutriment from its trunk and vital ſubſtance, its fruit being a ſuperfluous and uſeleſs part. It grows wild in the foreſts, and multiplies itſelf by ſeeds and ſuckers. It riſes to the height of thirty feet, and

and is about ſix in circumference. The bark is an inch thick. The inner rind is compoſed of an aſſemblage of long fibres which are interwoven with each other. This double coat contains a kind of ſap or gum, which falls into meal. The tree, which ſeems to grow merely for the uſe of man, points out the meal by a fine white powder which covers its leaves, and is a certain ſign of the maturity of the ſago. It is then cut down to the root, and ſawn into ſcatlings, which are divided into four quarters, for the better extracting of the ſap or meal they contain. After this ſubſtance has been diluted in water, it is ſtrained through a kind of ſieve, which retains the groſſer particles; the reſt is thrown into earthen moulds, where it dries and hardens for ſome years. The Indians eat the ſago diluted with water, and ſometimes baked or boiled. Through a principle of humanity, they reſerve the fineſt part of this meal for the aged and infirm. A jelly is ſometimes made of it, which is white and of a delicious flavour.

TEMPERATE, independent, and averſe from labour, theſe people had lived for ages upon the meal of the ſago, and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chineſe landing by accident at the Moluccas, diſcovered the clove and the nutmeg, with which valuable ſpices the ancients were entirely unacquainted. They were ſoon admired all over India, from whence they were tranſported to Perſia and Europe. The Arabians, who at that time engroſſed almoſt all the trade of the univerſe, did not overlook ſo lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to the

celebrated iſlands, whoſe productions they had already monopolized, had not the Portugueſe, who purſued them every where, deprived them of this branch of trade. Notwithſtanding the ſchemes that were laid to ſupplant theſe conquerors, they obtained permiſſion to build a fort. From this time the court of Liſbon ranked the Moluccas among the number of their provinces, and it was not long before they became ſuch in reality.

WHILE Albuquerque's lieutenants enriched their country with the new productions of the eaſt, that general completed the conqueſt of Malabar, which would have taken advantage of his abſence to recover its liberty. After his late ſucceſs, he employed the leiſure he enjoyed in the midſt of his conqueſts, in ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the Portugueſe; eſtabliſhing order in all the colonies, and regulating the diſcipline of the army; in the courſe of which he diſplayed an activity, ſagacity, wiſdom, juſtice, humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which did honour to his character. His good qualities made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Indians, that, for a long time after his death, they continued to repair to his tomb to demand juſtice for the outrages committed by his ſucceſſors. He died at Goa in the year 1515, without riches, and out of favour with Emanuel, who had been prevailed upon to entertain ſuſpicions of his conduct.

The cauſes of the enterprifing ſpirit of the Portugueſe.

IF our aſtoniſhment is raiſed at the number of Albuquerque's victories, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, how deſervedly do thoſe brave men claim

claim our admiration, whom he had the honour to command in theſe expeditions! Did any nation, with ſo ſlender a force, ever perform ſuch great actions? The Portugueſe, with leſs than forty thouſand troops, ſtruck terror into the empire of Morocco, the barbarous nations of Africa, the Mammelucs, the Arabians, and all the eaſtern countries from the iſland of Ormus to China. With a force in the proportion of one to a hundred, they engaged troops, which, when attacked by an enemy of equal ſtrength, would frequently defend their lives and poſſeſſions to the laſt extremity. What kind of men then muſt the Portugueſe have been, and what extraordinary cauſes muſt have conſpired to produce ſuch a nation of heroes!

They had been at war with the Moors near a century, when Henry of Burgundy, with ſeveral French knights, landed in Portugal with a deſign to ſerve in Caſtile under the famous Cid, whoſe reputation had drawn them thither. The Portugueſe invited them to lend their aſſiſtance againſt the infidels; the knights complied, and the greateſt part of them ſettled in Portugal. Chivalry, which has contributed as much as any other inſtitution to exalt human nature, ſubſtituting the love of glory to the love of our country; that refined ſpirit, drawn from the dregs of the barbarous ages, and calculated to repair or leſſen the errors and inconveniences of the feudal government from whence it took its riſe, was then revived on the banks of the Tagus, in all the ſplendour it had at its firſt appearance

in France and England. The princes endeavoured to keep it alive, and to extend its influence by eſtabliſhing ſeveral orders formed upon the plan of the ancient ones, and calculated to infuſe the ſame ſpirit, which was a mixture of heroiſm, gallantry, and devotion.

THE ſovereigns raiſed the ſpirit of the nation ſtill higher by treating the nobility in ſome meaſure upon a footing of equality, and by ſetting bounds to their own authority. They frequently aſſembled their ſtates general, without which properly ſpeaking, there can be no nation. By theſe ſtates Alphonſo was inveſted with the regal authority after the taking of Liſbon; and in conjunction with them, his ſucceſſors, for a long time, exereiſed the power of making laws. Many of theſe laws were calculated to inſpire the love of great actions. The order of nobility was conferred upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſignal ſervices; by killing or taking priſoner the enemy's general, or his ſquire: or by refuſing to purchaſe their liberty, when in the hands of the Moors, by renouncing their religion. On the other hand, whoever inſulted a woman, gave falſe evidence, broke his promiſe, or "diſguiſed the truth to his ſovereign," was deprived of his rank.

THE wars waged by the Portugueſe in defence of their rights and liberties, were at the ſame time religious wars. They partook of that fierce yet enterpriſing fanaticiſm, which the popes had encouraged at the time of the cruſades. The Portugueſe,

Portugueſe, therefore, were knights armed in defence of their properties, their wives, their children, and their kings, who were knights as well as themſelves. Beſides theſe, they were the heroes of the cruſade, who in defending chriſtianity were fighting for their country. To this may be added, that the nation was ſmall, and its power extremely limited; it being chiefly in little ſtates that we find that enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for their country, which is utterly unknown in larger communities, that enjoy a greater ſecurity.

THE principles of activity, vigour, and a noble elevation of mind, which united in the character of this nation, were not loſt after the expulſion of the Moors. They purſued theſe enemies of their religion and government into Africa. They were engaged in ſeveral wars with the kings of Caſtile and Leon; and during the interval that preceded their expeditions to India, the nobility lived at a diſtance from cities and the court, and preſerved in their caſtles the virtues of their anceſtors, together with their portraits.

WHEN the plan of extending conqueſt in Africa and Aſia became the object of attention among the Portugueſe; a new paſſion co-operated with the principles juſt mentioned, to give additional energy to the Portugueſe ſpirit. This paſſion, which, however it might animate all the reſt for the preſent, would ſoon deſtroy the generoſity of their temper, was avarice. The veſſels were crouded with adventurers, who wanted to enrich themſelves,

ſelves, ſerve their country, and make proſelytes. They appeared in India to be ſomething more than men till the death of Albuquerque. Then riches, which were the object and reward of their conqueſts, introduced an univerſal corruption. The nobler paſſions gave way to the pleaſures of luxury, which never fail to enervate the body, and to deſtroy the virtues of the mind. The weak ſucceſſors of the illuſtrious Emanuel, and the men of mean abilities, which he himſelf ſent as viceroys to India, gradually contributed to the degeneracy of the Portugueſe.

Lopez-Soarez, however, who ſucceeded Albuquerque, purſued his deſigns. He aboliſhed a barbarous cuſtom that prevailed in the country of Travancor, in the neighbourhood of Calicut. The inhabitants of this region conſulted ſorcerers concerning the deſtiny of their children: if the magician promiſed a happy deſtiny, they were ſuffered to live; if he foretold any great calamities that were to befal them, they were put to death. Soarez interpoſed to preſerve theſe children. He was for ſome time employed in preventing the oppoſition with which the Portugueſe were threatened in India; and as ſoon as he was relieved from his anxiety, he reſolved to attempt a paſſage to China.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of this empire.

The great Albuquerque had formed the ſame deſign. He had met with Chineſe ſhips and merchants at Malacca, and conceived a high opinion of a nation whoſe very ſailors had more politeneſs, a better

a better ſenſe of decorum, more good nature and humanity, than were, at that time, to be found among the European nobility. He invited the Chineſe to continue their commerce with Malacca. From them he procured a particular account of the ſtrength, riches, and manners of their extenſive empire, and communicated his intelligence to the court of Portugal.

The Chineſe nation was utterly unknown in Europe. Mark Paul, a Venetian, who had travelled to China by land, had given a deſcription of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It correſponded, however, with the particulars ſince tranſmitted by Albuquerque. Credit was given to this officer's teſtimony, and to his account of the lucrative trade that might be carried on with this country.

In the year 1518 a ſquadron ſailed from Liſbon to convoy an ambaſſador to China. As ſoon as it arrived at the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was ſurrounded by Chineſe veſſels, which came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, did not attempt to defend himſelf: he ſuffered the Chineſe to come on board; communicated the object of his voyage to the Mandarins that preſided at Canton, and ſent his ambaſſador on ſhore, who was conducted to Pekin.

The ambaſſador was every moment preſented with ſome new wonder, that ſtruck him with amazement. If we conſider the largeneſs of the towns, the multitude of villages, the variety of canals, of which ſome are navigable acroſs the empire,

empire, and others contribute to the fertility of the ſoil; the art of cultivating their lands, and the abundance and variety of their productions; the ſagacious and mild aſpect of the inhabitants, the perpetual interchange of good offices which appeared in the country and on the publick roads, and the good order preſerved among thoſe numberleſs crouds who were engaged in the hurry of buſineſs; we ſhall not wonder at the ſurprize of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had been accuſtomed to the barbarous and ridiculous manners of Europe.

Let us take a tranſient view of this people. The hiſtory of a nation ſo well governed, is the hiſtory of mankind: the reſt of the world reſembles the chaos of matter before it was wrought into form. After a long ſeries of devaſtation, ſociety has at length riſen to order and harmony. States and nations are produced from each other, like individuals, with this difference, that in families nature brings about the death of ſome, and provides for the births of others, in a conſtant and regular ſucceſſion: but in ſtates, this rule is violated and deſtroyed by the diſorders of ſociety, where it ſometimes happens that ancient monarchies ſtifle riſing republics in their births, and that a rude and ſavage people, ruſhing like a torrent, ſweep away multitudes of ſtates, which are diſunited and broken in pieces.

China alone has been exempted from this fatality. This empire, bounded on the north by Ruſſian Tartary, on the ſouth by India, by Thibet on the weſt, and by the ocean on the eaſt, comprehends

comprehends almoſt all the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia. It is eighteen hundred leagues in circumference. It is ſaid to have laſted through a ſucceſſive ſeries of four thouſand years; nor is this antiquity in the leaſt to be wondered at. The narrow bounds of our hiſtory, and the ſmall extent of our kingdoms, which riſe and fall in a quick ſucceſſion, are the conſequence of wars, ſuperſtition, and the unfavourable circumſtances of our ſituation. But the Chineſe, who are encompaſſed and defended on all ſides by ſeas and deſerts, have, like the ancient Egyptians, given a laſting ſtability to their empire. Since their coaſts and the inland parts of their territories have been peopled and cultivated, this happy nation muſt of courſe have been the center of attraction to all the ſurrounding people; and the wandering or cantoned tribes muſt neceſſarily have gradually attached themſelves to a body of men, who ſpeak leſs frequently of the conqueſts they have made, than of the attacks they have ſuffered; and are happier in the thought of having civilized their conquerors, than they could have been in that of having deſtroyed their invaders.

In a country where the government is ſo ancient, we may every where expect to find deep traces ofe the continued force of induſtry. Its roads have been levelled with the exacteſt care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is neceſſary to facilitate the watering of the land, which they conſider, with reaſon, as one of the greateſt helps in agriculture. They have but few, even of the moſt uſeful trees, as their fruits would rob

rob the corn of its nourishment. There are gardens, it is true, interspersed with flowers, fine turf, shrubberies, and fountains; but however agreeable these scenes might be to an idle spectator, they seem to be concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid of shewing how much their amusements had encroached upon the soil that ought to be cultivated for the support of life. They have no parks or extensive forests, which are not near so serviceable to mankind by the wood they furnish, as prejudicial by preventing agriculture; and while they contribute to the pleasure of the great by the beasts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the husbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-seat consists in its being happily situated, surrounded with an agreeable variety of cultivated fields, and interspersed with trees planted irregularly, and with some heaps of a porous stone, which at a distance have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, supported by dry walls. Here there are reservoirs, constructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and spring water. It is not uncommon to see the bottom, summit and declivity of a hill watered by the same canal, by means of a number of engines of a simple construction, which save manual labour, and perform with two men what could not be done with a thousand in the ordinary way. These heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They are first sown with a kind of radish, which produces an oil; then with cotton, and after

after that with potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but the rule is not without exception.

Upon moſt of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the ſubſiſtence of man, proper trees are planted for building houſes or ſhips. Many of them contain iron, tin, and copper mines, ſufficient to ſupply the empire. The gold mines have been neglected, either becauſe their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or becauſe the gold duſt, waſhed down by the torrents, was found ſufficient for the purpoſes of exchange.

The ſandy plains, ſaved from the ravages of the ocean, (which changes its bed as rivers do their courſe, in a ſpace of time ſo exactly proportioned to their different moments, that a ſmall encroachment of the ſea cauſes a thouſand revolutions on the ſurface of the globe) form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang, which are the fineſt in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the courſe of the Nile, the Chineſe have repulſed, reſtrained, and given laws to the ocean. They have re-united to the continent, tracts of land which had been disjoined by this element. They ſtill exert their endeavours to oppoſe that over-ruling effect of the earth's motion, which in conformity with the celeſtial ſyſtem drives the ocean from eaſt to weſt. To the action of the globe the Chineſe oppoſe the labours of induſtry: and while nations, the moſt celebrated in hiſtory, have, by the rage of conqueſt, increaſed the ravages that time is perpetually

petually making upon this globe; they exert ſuch efforts to retard the progreſs of univerſal devaſtation, as might appear ſupernatural, if daily experience did not afford us ſtrong evidence to the contrary.

To the improvements of land this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of moſt of the towns, preſent us with the proſpect of floating cities, compoſed of an infinite number of boats filled with people, who live conſtantly upon the water, and whoſe ſole employment is fiſhing. The ſea itſelf is covered with numberleſs veſſels, whoſe maſts, at a diſtance, appear like moving foreſts. Anſon mentions it as a reproach to the fiſhermen belonging to theſe boats, that they did not give themſelves a moment's intermiſſion from their work to look at his ſhip, which was the largeſt that had ever anchored in thoſe latitudes. But this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chineſe ſailor to be of no uſe, though it was in the way of his profeſſion, is, perhaps, a proof of the happineſs of a people, who prefer buſineſs to matters of mere curioſity.

The manner of culture is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the ſoil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the ſouth they ſow rice, which being always under water, grows to a great ſize, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the

the ſituation is lofty and dry, the ſoil produces a ſpecies of rice, which is neither ſo large, ſo well-taſted, or ſo nouriſhing, and makes the huſbandman but one return in the year for his labour. In the northern parts the ſame kinds of grain are cultivated as in Europe, which grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality as in any of our moſt fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of vegetables, particularly in the ſouth, where together with fiſh they ſupply the place of meat, which is the general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is univerſally underſtood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preſerved, and ſkilfully diſtributed to the beſt advantage; and that which ariſes from fertile lands, is applied to make them ſtill more fertile. This grand ſyſtem of nature, which is ſuſtained by deſtruction and re-production, is better underſtood and attended to in China than in any other country in the world.

A PHILOSOPHER, whom the ſpirit of obſervation has led into their empire, has found out and explained the cauſes of the rural œconomy of the Chineſe.

THE firſt of theſe cauſes is that character of induſtry by which theſe people are particularly diſtinguiſhed, who in their nature require a leſs ſhare of repoſe. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the firſt, which is employed in paying and receiving viſits among relations; and the laſt, which is ſacred to the memory of their anceſtors.

ceſtors. The firſt is a ſocial duty, the latter a part of domeſtic worſhip. In this nation of ſages, whatever unites and civilizes mankind is religion; and religion itſelf is nothing more than the practice of the ſocial virtues. Theſe ſober and rational people want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them juſt; their private worſhip conſiſts in the love of their parents whether living or dead; and their public worſhip in the love of labour; and that labour which is held in the moſt ſacred veneration is agriculture.

THE generoſity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the intereſts of the ſtate to thoſe of their family, kept their own children from the throne to make room for men taken from the plough. They revere the memory of theſe huſbandmen, who ſowed the ſeeds of the happineſs and ſtability of the empire in the fertile boſom of the earth; that inexhauſtible ſource of whatever conduces to the nouriſhment, and conſequently to the increaſe of mankind.

IN imitation of theſe royal huſbandmen, the emperors of China become huſbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions to break up the ground in the ſpring; and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crouds to ſee their prince perform this ſolemnity in honour of the firſt of all the arts. It is not, as in the fables of Greece, a god, who tends the flocks of a king; it is the father of his people, who, holding the plough

plough with his own hands, ſhews his children what are the true riches of the ſtate. In a little time he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himſelf, to ſow the ſeed that is moſt proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the ſame ſeaſons, the viceroys repeat the ſame ceremonies in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of huſbandmen. The Europeans, who have been preſent at this ſolemnity at Canton, never ſpeak of it without emotion; and make us regret that this feſtival, whoſe political aim is the encouragement of labour, is not eſtabliſhed in our climate, inſtead of that number of religious feaſts, which ſeem to be invented by idleneſs to make the country a barren waſte.

It is not to be imagined, however, that the court of Pekin is really engaged in the labours of a rural life. The arts of luxury are grown to ſo great a height in China, that theſe performances can only paſs for mere ceremonies. But the law which obliges the prince to ſhew this token of reſpect to the profeſſion of huſbandmen, has a tendency to promote the advantage of agriculture. The deference paid by the ſovereign to public opinions contributes to perpetuate them; and the influence of opinion is the principal ſpring that actuates the political machine.

This influence is preſerved in China by conferring honours on all huſbandmen, who excel in the cultivation of the ground. When any uſeful diſcovery is made, the author of it is called to court to communicate it to the prince; and is ſent by the

government into the provinces, to inſtruct them in his method. In a word, in this country, where nobility is not hereditary, but a mere perſonal reward indiſcriminately beſtowed upon merit; ſeveral of the magiſtrates and perſons raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire are choſen out of families who are ſolely employed in the cultivation of land.

THESE encouragements which belong to their manners, are further ſeconded by the beſt political inſtitutions. Whatever is in its nature incapable of being divided, as the ſea, rivers, canals, &c. is enjoyed in common, and is the property of no individual. Every one has the liberty of going upon the water, fiſhing, and hunting; and a ſubject who is in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, whether acquired by himſelf or left by his relations, is in no danger of having his right called in queſtion by the tyrannical authority of the feudal laws.

THE ſmallneſs of the taxes is ſtill a further encouragement to agriculture. Till lately, the proportion paid to government out of the produce of the lands, was from a tenth down to a thirtieth part of the income, according to the quality of the ſoil. This was the only tribute levied in China. The leading men never entertained a thought of increaſing it; they would not have ventured to act in ſuch direct oppoſition to cuſtom and opinion, which determine every thing in this empire. Some emperors and miniſters, no doubt, would have been glad to attempt an innovation of this kind; but as ſuch an undertaking would require time, and they could

could not hope to live to ſee its ſucceſs, they did not chooſe to engage in it. Men of bad principles aim at immediate enjoyment, while the virtuous ſubject, extending his benevolence beyond the preſent generation, contents himſelf with forming deſigns, and propagating uſeful truths, without expecting to reap any advantage from them in his own perſon.

It is but lately that conqueſt and commerce have introduced new taxes into China. The Tartar emperors have laid a duty upon certain articles of proviſions, metals, and merchandiſe. In ſhort, if we may believe the Jeſuit Amyot, cuſtoms are eſtabliſhed there as well as in Europe.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Europeans would imitate the Chineſe in the mode of levying their taxes; which is juſt, humane, and not expenſive. Every year, at the time of harveſt, the fields are meaſured, and rated in proportion to their actual produce. Whether the Chineſe are as diſhoneſt as they are repreſented, or whether, like ſeveral nations among the ancients, they are only faithleſs and deceitful in their dealings with ſtrangers, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but it ſhould ſeem that government repoſes ſufficient confidence in them, not to vex and moleſt them by thoſe ſearchings and troubleſome viſits, ſo common in the mode of taxation in Europe. The only penalty inflicted on perſons liable to be taxed, and who are too ſlow in the payment of the tribute demanded by the public, is to quarter old, infirm, and poor people upon them, to be maintained at their expence, till they have diſcharged the debt due to government. This man-

ner of proceeding has a tendency to awaken pity and humanity in the breaſt of a citizen, when he ſees miſerable objects and hears the cries of hunger; inſtead of giving him diſguſt, and exciting his reſentment by forcible ſeizures and the menaces of an inſolent ſoldiery, who come to live at diſcretion in a houſe expoſed to the numberleſs extortions of the treaſury.

In China, the taxes are levied without having recourſe to thoſe oppreſſive methods that are practiſed in Europe. The mandarins take the tenth part of the produce of the earth in kind. The officers in the municipal towns give in their account of this tribute and all other taxes to the receiver-general of the province; and the whole is lodged in the public treaſury. The uſe that is made of this revenue prevents all frauds in collecting it; as it is well known, that a part of theſe duties is allotted for the maintenance of the magiſtrates and ſoldiers. The money ariſing from the ſale of this proportion of the product of the lands is never iſſued from the treaſury but in public exigencies. It is laid up in the magazines againſt times of ſcarcity, when the people receive what they had lent, as it were, in times of plenty.

It may naturally be expected that a nation, enjoying ſo many advantages, will be extremely populous; eſpecially in a climate where, whatever reaſon may be aſſigned for it, the women are remarkably prolific, and the men do no injury to the natural vigour of their conſtitution by the uſe of ſtrong liquors; where the climate is wholeſome and tem-

temperate, and few children die in proportion to the numbers born; where the ſoil overpays the labour of cultivating it, not to mention the ſimple and plain manner of living in uſe there, which is regulated by the ſtricteſt œconomy.

The Jeſuits, however, who were employed by the court of Pekin to make charts of the empire, in the courſe of their undertaking diſcovered ſome conſiderable tracts of deſert land, which had eſcaped the notice of the merchants who frequented only the ſea-ports, and of travellers who went only by the road of Canton to the capital.

It would be impoſſible to account for the want of population in ſome parts of China diſtant from each other, if it were not known, that, in theſe extenſive ſtates, a great number of children are deſtroyed ſoon after they are born; that ſeveral of thoſe who eſcape this cruel fate, ſuffer the moſt ſhameful mutilation; and that of thoſe who are not thus barbarouſly robbed of their ſex, many are reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, and deprived of the comforts of marriage by tyrannical maſters; that polygamy, ſo contrary to reaſon and the ſpirit of ſociety, is univerſally practiſed; that the vice which nature rejects with the utmoſt abhorrence, is very common; and that the convents of the Bonzes contain little leſs than a million of perſons devoted to celebacy.

But if a few ſcattered *diſtricts*, which are hardly known even in China, be deſtitute of hands to cultivate them; are there not many more in which men are crouded together in ſuch numbers as to incommode each other? This inconvenience is obſervable

in the neighbourhood of great cities and public roads, and particularly in the ſouthern provinces. Accordingly it appears, by the records of the empire, that a bad harveſt has ſeldom failed to produce an inſurrection.

We need go no further to find the reaſons which prevent deſpotiſm from making any advances in China. It is evident from theſe frequent revolutions, that the people are fully ſenſible that a regard to the rights of property, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, are duties of a lower claſs, ſubordinate to the original rights of nature, and that communities are formed for the common benefit of thoſe who enter into them. Accordingly, when the more immediate neceſſaries of life fail, the Chineſe ceaſe to acknowledge an authority which does not provide for their ſubſiſtence. The right of kings is founded on the regard they pay to the preſervation of the people. Neither religion nor morality teach any other doctrine in China.

The emperor is well aware, that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs. He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny, which is ſo common and infectious in other countries, ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, ſuch a violent oppoſition would be raiſed, that he would be expelled from the throne. Accordingly, finding himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme authority by a people who obſerve and criticiſe his conduct, he is far from attempting to erect himſelf into an object of religious ſuperſtition, and doing juſt as he pleaſes. He does not violate the ſacred contract, by virtue of which he holds the ſceptre,

tre. He is convinced that the people are ſo well acquainted with their rights, and the manner of defending them, that whenever a province complains of the mandarin who governs it, he recalls him without examination, and delivers him up to a tribunal, which proceeds againſt him if he is in fault; but ſhould he even prove innocent, he is not reinſtated in his employment, as it is deemed a crime to have drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the people. He is conſidered as an ignorant tutor, who ſhould attempt to deprive a father of the love his children bear him. This compliance, which, in other countries, would nouriſh perpetual diſcontent, and occaſion an infinite number of intrigues, is not attended with any inconvenience in China, where the inhabitants are naturally diſpoſed to be mild and juſt, and the conſtitution of the ſtate is ſo ordered, that its delegates have ſeldom any rigorous commands to execute.

The neceſſity of juſtice in the prince tends to make him more wiſe and intelligent. He is in China what one would gladly believe princes in all countries were, the idol of his people. It ſhould ſeem that their manners and laws conſpired to eſtabliſh this fundamental principle, that China is a family of which the emperor is the patriarch. He does not poſſeſs his authority as a conqueror, or a legiſlator, but as a father: as a father he governs, rewards, and puniſhes. This pleaſing ſentiment gives him a greater power than the tyrants of other nations can poſſibly derive from the number of their troops, or the artifices of their miniſters. It is not to be imagined what eſteem and affection the Chi-

peſe

neſe have for their emperor, or, as they expreſs it, their common, their univerſal father.

This public veneration is founded upon that which is eſtabliſhed by private education. In China, the father and mother claim an abſolute right over their children at every period of life, even when raiſed to the higheſt dignity. Paternal authority and filial affection are the ſources of every thing in this empire: by theſe the manners are regulated, and they are the grand tie that unites the prince to his ſubjects, the ſubjects to their prince, and citizens to one another. The Chineſe government has gradually arrived at that point of perfection, from which all others ſeem to have finally and irrevocably degenerated: I mean the patriarchal governmennt, a government eſtabliſhed by nature itſelf.

Notwithstanding this ſublime ſyſtem of morals, that for ſo many ages has contributed to the proſperity of the Chineſe empire, it would probably have experienced an inſenſible change, if the chimerical diſtinctions allowed to birth had deſtroyed that original equality eſtabliſhed by nature among mankind, and which ought only to give place to ſuperior abilities and ſuperior merit. In all the ſtates of Europe, one claſs of men aſſume from their infancy a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they ſoon learn to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct ſpecies, and being ſecure of a certain rank and ſtation, take no pains to make themſelves worthy of it.

THIS ſyſtem, to which we owe ſo many indifferent miniſters, ignorant magiſtrates, and bad generals has no place in China, where nobility does not deſcend by hereditary right. The figure any citizen makes, begins and ends with himſelf. The ſon of the prime miniſter of the empire has no advantages at the moment of his birth, but thoſe he may have derived from nature. The rank of nobility is ſometimes conferred upon the anceſtors of a man who has done ſignal ſervices to his country; but this mark of diſtinction, which is merely perſonal, dies with its poſſeſſor, and his children derive no other advantage from it than the memory and example of his virtues.

IN conſequence of this perfect equality, the Chineſe are enabled to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of education, and to inculcate correſpondent principles. It is no difficult taſk to perſuade men who are upon an equal footing by birth, that they are all brethren. This opinion gives them every advantage which would be loſt if a contrary idea prevailed. A Chineſe, who ſhould abſtract himſelf from this common fraternity, would become a ſolitary and miſerable being, and wander as a ſtranger in the heart of his country.

INSTEAD of thoſe frivolous diſtinctions which are allotted to birth in almoſt every other country, the Chineſe ſubſtitute real ones, founded entirely on perſonal merit. A ſett of wiſe and intelligent men, who are honoured with the title of the learned mandarins, devote themſelves to the ſtudy of all ſciences neceſſary to qualify them for the adminiſtration of public

public affairs. None can be admitted into this reſpectable ſociety, who are not recommended by their talents and knowledge: for riches give no claim to this honour. The mandarins are at their option to fix upon proper perſons to aſſociate with them; and they never chuſe any perſon without a previous and ſtrict examination. There are different claſſes of mandarins, the ſucceſſion to which is regulated by merit, and not by ſeniority.

Out of the claſs of mandarins, the emperor, according to a cuſtom as ancient as the empire, elects miniſters, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, and officers of every denomination who are called to any employment in the ſtate. As his choice can only fall upon men of tried abilities, the welfare of the people is always lodged in the hands of thoſe who are worthy of ſuch a truſt.

In conſequence of this inſtitution, no dignity is hereditary except that of the crown; and even that does not always devolve to the eldeſt ſon; but to him whom the emperor and the council of mandarins judge moſt worthy. By this method, a ſpirit of virtuous emulation prevails even in the imperial family. The throne is given to merit alone, and it is aſſigned to the heir only in conſideration of his abilities. The emperors rather chuſe to appoint a ſucceſſor from a different family, than to intruſt the reins of government to unſkilful hands.

The viceroys and magiſtrates enjoy the affection of the people, at the ſame time that they partake of the authority of the ſovereign; and any miſtakes in their adminiſtration meet with the ſame indulgence

dulgence that is ſhewn to thoſe of the ſupreme legiſlator. They have not that tendency to ſedition which prevails in this part of the world. In China there is no ſett of men to form or manage a faction: as the mandarins have no rich and powerful family connections, they can derive no ſupport but from the crown, and their own prudence. They are trained up in a way of thinking that inſpires humanity, the love of order, beneficence, and reſpect for the laws. They take pains to iuculcate theſe ſentiments into the people, and ſecure their attachment to every law, by ſhewing them its uſeful tendency. The ſovereign paſſes no edict that does not convey ſome moral or political inſtruction. The people neceſſarily become acquainted with their intereſts, and the meaſures taken by government to promote them; and the better informed they are, the more likely they will be to remain quiet.

SUPERSTITION, which excites diſturbances in all other countries, and either eſtabliſhes tyranny, or overthrows government, has no influence in China. It is tolerated, injudiciouſly, perhaps, by the laws: but, at leaſt, it never makes laws itſelf. No perſon can have any ſhare in the government who does not belong to the claſs of literati, which admits of no ſuperſtition. The bonzes are not allowed to ground the duties of morality upon the doctrines of their ſects, nor conſequently to diſpenſe with them. If they impoſe upon ſome part of the nation, their artifices do not affect thoſe whoſe example and authority are of the greateſt importance to the ſtate.

CONFUCIUS, in whoſe actions and diſcourſes precept was joined to example, whoſe memory is equally revered, and whoſe doctrine is equally embraced by all claſſes and ſects whatſoever, was the founder of the national religion of China. His code contains a ſyſtem of natural law, which ought to be the ground-work of all religions, the rule of ſociety, and ſtandard of all governments. He taught that reaſon was an emanation of the Deity; and that the ſupreme law conſiſted in the harmony between nature and reaſon. The religion that runs in oppoſition to theſe two guides of human life, does not come from heaven.

As the Chineſe have no term for God, they ſay that heaven is God. *But*, ſays the emperor Changchi, in an edict publiſhed in 1710, *it is not to the viſible and material heaven that we offer our ſacrifices, but to the Lord of heaven.* Thus atheiſm, though not uncommon in China, is not publicly profeſſed. It is neither the characteriſtic of a ſect, nor an object of perſecution; but is tolerated as well as ſuperſtition.

THE emperor, who is ſole pontiff, is likewiſe the judge in matters of religion; but as the national worſhip was made for the government, not the government for it; and as both were deſigned to be ſubſervient to the ends of ſociety; it is neither the intereſt nor inclination of the ſovereign to employ the two-fold authority lodged in his hands, for the purpoſes of oppreſſion. If on the one hand the doctrines and ceremonies of the hierarchy do not prevent the prince from making an ill uſe of abſolute authority; he is more powerfully reſtrained on

the other, by the general influence of the national manners.

ANY attempt to change theſe manners would be attended with the greateſt difficulty, becauſe they are inculcated by a mode of education which is, perhaps, the beſt we are acquainted with. The Chineſe do not make a point of inſtructing their children till they are five years old. They are then taught to write words or hieroglyphics, which repreſent ſenſible objects, of which at the ſame time they endeavour to give them clear ideas. Afterwards their memory is ſtored with ſententious verſes containing precepts of morality, which they are taught to reduce to practice. As they advance in years they are inſtructed in the philoſophy of Confucius. This is the manner of education among the ordinary ranks. The children who are deſigned for poſts of honour, begin in the ſame manner; but intermix other ſtudies relative to human conduct in the different ſtations of life.

IN China, the manners take their complexion from the laws, and are preſerved by common uſage, which is likewiſe preſcribed by the laws. The Chineſe have a greater number of precepts, relating to the moſt common actions, than any other people in the world. Their code of politeneſs is very voluminous; the loweſt citizen is inſtructed in it, and obſerves it with the ſame exactneſs as the mandarins and the court.

THE laws in this code, like all the reſt, are formed with a view of keeping up the opinion that China is but one great family, and of promoting that

that regard and mutual affection in the citizens, which is due to each other as brethren. Theſe rights and cuſtoms tend to preſerve the manners. Sometimes, indeed, ceremonies are ſubſtituted for ſentiment; but how often are they the means of reviving it! They compoſe a kind of conſtant homage that is paid to virtue; and is calculated to engage the attention of youth. This homage preſerves the reſpect due to virtue herſelf; and if it ſometimes leads to hypocriſy, it encourages at leaſt a laudable zeal. Tribunals are erected to take cognizance of tranſgreſſions againſt the cuſtoms; as well as to puniſh crimes, and reward merit. Moderate penalties are inflicted upon crimes, and virtue is diſtinguiſhed by marks of honour. Honour is accordingly one of the principles that actuate the Chineſe government: and though it is not the leading one, operates more ſtrongly than fear, and more feebly than affection.

UNDER the influence of ſuch inſtitutions, one ſhould expect, that China would be the country in the whole world, where men would be moſt humane. Accordingly the humanity of the Chineſe is conſpicuous on thoſe occaſions, where it ſhould ſeem, that virtue could have no other object but juſtice; and that juſtice could not be executed without ſeverity. Their priſoners are confined in neat and commodious apartments, where they are well taken care of even to the moment when they ſuffer. It frequently happens, that the only puniſhment inflicted on a rich man amounts to no more than obliging him for a certain time to maintain or clothe

clothe ſome old men and orphans at his own expence. Our moral and political romances form the real hiſtory of the Chineſe, who have regulated all the actions of men with ſuch an exact nicety, that they have ſcarcely any need of ſentiment. Yet they do not fail to cultivate the latter, in order to give a proper eſtimation to the former.

THE ſpirit of patriotiſm, that ſpirit, without which ſtates are mere colonies, and not nations, is ſtronger, perhaps, and more active among the Chineſe than it is found in any republic. It is common to ſee them voluntarily contributing their labour to repair the public roads: the rich build places of ſhelter upon them for the uſe of travellers; and others plant trees there. Such actions, which are proofs of a beneficent humanity rather than an oſtentation of generoſity, are far from being uncommon in China.

THERE have been times, when they have been frequent; and others, when they have been leſs ſo; but the corruption which was the cauſe of the latter, brought on a revolution, and the manners of the people were reformed. They ſuffered by the late invaſion of the Tartars: they are now recovering, in proportion as the princes of that victorious nation lay aſide the ſuperſtitions of their own country, to adopt the principles of the nation they have conquered; and in proportion as they improve in the knowledge of thoſe books, which the Chineſe call canonical.

IT cannot be long before we ſee the amiable character of this nation entirely revived; that fraternal,

nal, and kindred principle; thoſe enchanting ſocial ties, which ſoften the manners of the people, and attach them inviolably to the laws. Political errors and vices cannot take deep root in a country where no perſons are ever promoted to public employments, but ſuch as are of the ſect of the learned, whoſe ſole occupation is to inſtruct themſelves in the principles of morality and government. As long as real knowledge ſhall be held in eſtimation, as long as it ſhall continue to lead to public honours, there will exiſt among the people of China a fund of reaſon and virtue, which will not be found among other nations.

If this picture of the manners of the Chineſe ſhould be different from that drawn by other writers, it is not, perhaps, impoſſible to reconcile opinions ſo ſeemingly contradictory. China may be conſidered in two diſtinct points of view. If we ſtudy the inhabitants as they appear in the ſea-ports and great towns, we ſhall be diſguſted at their cowardice, knavery and avarice: but in the other parts of the empire, particularly in the country, we ſhall find their manners domeſtic, ſocial and patriotic. It would be difficult to point out a more virtuous, humane, and intelligent people.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the greateſt part of thoſe improvements, which depend upon theories at all complicated, are not ſo far advanced there, as might naturally be expected from that ancient, active, and diligent people, who have ſo long had a clue to them. But this riddle is not inexplicable. The Chineſe language requires a long and laborious ſtudy, ſcarcely to be comprehended within

within the term of a man's life. The rights and ceremonies which they obſerve upon every occaſion, afford more exerciſe for their memory than their ſenſibility. Their manners are calulated to check the impulſes of the ſoul, and weaken its operations. Too aſſiduous in the purſuit of what is uſeful, they have no opportunity of launching out into the extenſive regions of imagination. An exceſſive veneration for antiquity, makes them the ſlaves of whatever is eſtabliſhed. All theſe cauſes united, muſt neceſſarily have ſtifled, among the Chineſe, the ſpirit of invention. It requires ages with them to bring any thing to perfection; and whoever reflects on the ſtate, in which arts and ſciences were found among them three hundred years ago, muſt be convinced of the extraordinary antiquity of their empire.

The low ſtate of learning, and of the fine arts in China, may perhaps be further owing to the very perfection of its government, and ſyſtem of policy. This paradox has its foundation in reaſon. Where the ſtudy of the laws holds the firſt rank in a nation, and is rewarded with an appointment in the adminiſtration, inſtead of a poſt in the academy; where learning is applied to the regulation of manners, or the maintenance of the public weal; where the ſame nation is exceedingly populous, and requires a conſtant attention in its learned members to make ſubſiſtence keep an equal pace with population; where every individual, beſides the duties he owes to the public, which take a conſiderable time to be well underſtood, has particular

duties arifing from the claims of his family or profeffion: in ſuch a nation the ſpeculative and ornamental parts of ſcience cannot be expected to arrive at that height of ſplendour they have attained in Europe. But the Chineſe, who are only our ſcholars in the arts of luxury and vanity, are our maſters in the ſcience of good government. They ſtudy how to increaſe, not how to diminiſh the number of inhabitants.

One of the arts in which the Chineſe have made the leaſt progreſs, is that of war. It is natural to imagine, that a nation, whoſe whole conduct, like that of infants, is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and cuſtoms either of private or public inſtitution, muſt conſequently be pliant, moderate, and inclined to tranquillity both at home and abroad. Reaſon and reflection, while they cheriſh ſentiments like theſe, leave no room for that enthuſiaſm, which conſtitutes the hero and the warrior. The ſpirit of humanity, which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes of rapine and maſſacre, that are ſo familiar to nations of a warlike turn. With ſuch diſpoſitions, can we wonder that the Chineſe are not warriors? They have ſoldiers without number, but totally undiſciplined, except in the ſingle article of obedience, being ſtill more deficient in military manœuvres than in courage. In their wars with the Tartars, the Chineſe knew not how to fight, and only ſtood to be killed. Their attachment to their government, their country, and their laws, may ſupply the want of a warlike ſpirit,

wit, but will never ſupply the want of good arms, and military ſkill. When a nation has found the art of ſubduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occaſion to overcome its enemies by force of arms.

Such is the empire of China ſo much talked of, and ſo little known. Such it was, when the Portugueſe landed there. They might have learned in it leſſons of wiſdom and government, but they thought of nothing but enriching themſelves, and propagating their religion. Thomas Perez, their ambaſſador, found the court of Pekin diſpoſed to favour his nation, whoſe fame had ſpread itſelf throughout Aſia. It had already attracted the eſteem of the Chineſe, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portugueſe ſquadron, tended ſtill further to increaſe. He viſited all the coaſts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure, he made proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portugueſe, and would make it known, he ſhould receive ſatisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them: Thomas Perez was juſt about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coaſts with a freſh ſquadron. This commandor treated the Chineſe in the ſame manner as the Portugueſe had, for ſome time, treated all the people of Aſia. He built a fort without permiſſion, in the iſland of Taman, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging, and extorting

money from all the ſhips bound from or to the ports of China. He carried off young girls from the coaſt; he ſeized upon Chineſe men, and made them ſlaves; he gave himſelf up to the moſt licentious acts of piracy, and the moſt ſhameful diſſoluteneſs. The ſailors and ſoldiers under his command, followed his example. The Chineſe enraged at theſe outrages fitted out a large fleet: the Portugueſe defended themſelves courageouſly, and eſcaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The emperor impriſoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement, and the Portugueſe nation was baniſhed from China for ſome years. After this, the Chineſe relaxed, and gave permiſſion to the Portugueſe to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Africa, ſpices from the Molucca iſlands, and from Ceylon elephants teeth, and ſome precious ſtones. In return they took ſilks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs, and tea, which is ſince become ſo neceſſary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe.

THE Portugueſe contented themſelves with the huts and factories they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chineſe government, till an opportunity offered of eſtabliſhing themſelves upon a footing more ſolid, and leſs dependent upon the mandarins, who had the command of the coaſt.

A PIRATE, named Tokang-ſi-loo, whoſe ſucceſſes had made him powerful, had ſeized upon the iſland of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded ſo far as to lay ſiege to Canton.

Canton. The neighbouring mandarins had recourſe to the Portugueſe, who had ſhips in the harbour of Sancian; they haſtened to the relief of Canton, raiſed the ſiege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they purſued as far as Macao, where he killed himſelf.

The emperor of China being informed of the ſervice the Portugueſe had rendered him on this occaſion, beſtowed Macao on them, as a mark of his gratitude. They received this grant with joy, and built a town which became very flouriſhing, and was advantageouſly ſituated for the trade they ſoon after entered into with Japan.

The beginning of the Portugueſe trade in Japan. The ſtate of the Japaneſe iſlands.

In the year 1542, it happened that a Portugueſe veſſel was fortunately driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of thoſe celebrated iſlands. The crew were hoſpitably received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refreſh, and refit them for the ſea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had ſeen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, not leſs rich than populous, preſented itſelf to the zeal of miſſionaries, and the induſtry of merchants. Both miſſionaries and merchants embarked without delay for Japan.

They found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the moſt ancient of any in the world, except that of China; its annals are not without a great mixture of fable, but it appears beyond a doubt, that in the year 660, Sin-chu founded the monarchy, which has ever ſince been continued in the ſame family. Theſe ſovereigns called Dairos, were at the ſame time the kings, and the pontiffs of the nation; and

by virtue of theſe united powers got the whole extent of the ſupreme authority into their hands. The perſon of the Dairos was ſacred, they were conſidered as the deſcendents, and repreſentatives of the gods. The leaſt diſobedience to the moſt trifling of their laws, was looked upon as a crime ſcarcely to be expiated by the ſevereſt puniſhments; nor were they confined to the offender alone, his whole family was involved in the conſequences of his crime.

About the eleventh century theſe princes, who, no doubt, were more jealous of the pleaſing prerogatives of prieſthood, than of the troubleſome rights of royalty, divided the ſtate into ſeveral governments, and intruſted the adminiſtration of them to ſuch of the nobility as were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and wiſdom.

By this means the unlimited power of the Dairos ſuffered a conſiderable change. The affairs of the empire were left to fluctuate at all adventures. The reſtleſs and quick-ſighted ambition of their viceroys took advantage of this inattention to bring about a variety of revolutions. By degrees they began to depart from the allegiance they had ſworn to preſerve. They made war upon each other, and even upon their ſovereign. An abſolute independence was the conſequence of theſe commotions; ſuch was the ſtate of Japan, when it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe.

The great iſlands, of which this empire is compoſed, being ſituated in a tempeſtuous climate ſurrounded by ſtorms, agitated by volcanos, and ſubject to thoſe great natural events which impreſs terror on the human mind, were inhabited by a people

entirely addicted to ſuperſtition, but divided into ſeveral ſects. That of Xinto is the ancient eſtabliſhed religion of the country: it acknowledges a ſupreme being, and the immortality of the ſoul; and pays adoration to a multitude of gods, ſaints, or camis, that is to ſay, the ſouls of great men, who have been the ſupport and ornament of their country. It is by the authority of this religion, that the Dairo, high-prieſt of the gods from whom he claimed his deſcent, had long reigned over his ſubjects with that deſpotic ſway, with which ſuperſtition governs the mind. Being both emperor and high-prieſt, he had rendered religion, in ſome reſpects, uſeful to his people, which is not abſolutely impoſſible in countries where the ſacerdotal and civil power are united in the ſame perſon.

It does not appear that the ſect of Xinto has had the madneſs, which of all others is the moſt dangerous to morality, to fix a criminal ſtigma on actions innocent in themſelves. Far from encouraging that gloomy fanaticiſm and fear of the gods, which is inſpired by almoſt all other religions, the Xinto ſect had applied itſelf to prevent, or at leaſt to moderate this diſorder of the imagination, by inſtituting feſtivals, which were celebrated three times in every month. They were dedicated to friendly viſits, feaſts, and rejoicings. The prieſts of Xinto taught, that the innocent pleaſures of mankind are agreeable to the deity, and that the beſt method of paying devotion to the camis is to imitate their virtues, and to enjoy in this world that happineſs they enjoy in another. In conſequence of this tenet, the Japaneſe,

neſe, after having put up their prayers in the temples, which are always ſituated in the midſt of groves, reſorted to courtezans, who commonly inhabited places conſecrated to love and devotion, and compoſed a religious community under the direction of an order of monks, who received a ſhare of the profits ariſing from this pious compliance with the dictates of nature.

The Budzoiſts are another ſect in Japan, of which Budzo was the founder. Their doctrine was nearly the ſame with that of the ſect of Xinto; over which they hoped to gain a ſuperiority by the ſeverity of their morals. Beſides Amida, the deity of the Xintoiſts, the Budzoiſts worſhipped a kind of mediator between God and mankind. They likewiſe worſhipped other mediatorial divinities between men and Amida. The profeſſors of this religion flattered themſelves, that they ſhould prevail over the religion of Xinto by the multitude of their precepts, the exceſs of their auſterity, their devotions and mortifications.

The ſpirit of Budzoiſm is dreadful. It breathes nothing but penitence, exceſſive fear, and cruel ſeverity. Of all fanaticiſms it is the moſt terrible. The monks of this ſect oblige their diſciples to paſs one half of their lives in penance, to expiate imaginary ſins; and inflict upon them the greateſt part of that penance themſelves, with a tyranny and cruelty, of which one may conceive an idea, from the inquiſitors in Spain; with this difference, that the Japaneſe fathers are themſelves the butchers of theſe voluntary victims to ſuperſtition; whereas

whereas the inquiſitors are only the judges of thoſe ſins and puniſhments, which they have themſelves deviſed and invented. The Budzoiſt prieſts keep the minds of their followers in a continual ſtate of torture, between remorſe and expiations. Their religion is ſo over-loaded with precepts, that it is not poſſible to obſerve them. They repreſent their gods as always deſirous to puniſh, and always offended.

It may be readily imagined, what effects ſo horrible a ſuperſtition muſt have on the character of the people, and to what degree of ferocity it hath brought them. The lights of a ſound morality, a little philoſophy, and a prudent ſyſtem of education might have remedied theſe laws, this government, and this religion; which conſpire to make mankind more ſavage in ſociety with his own ſpecies, than if he lived in the woods, and had no companions but the monſters that roam about the deſerts.

In China, they put into the hands of children books of inſtruction, which contain a detail of their duties, and teach them the advantages of virtue. The Japaneſe children are made to get by heart poems in which the actions of their forefathers are celebrated, a contempt of life is inculcated, and ſuicide is ſet up as the moſt heroic of all actions. Theſe ſongs and poems, which are ſaid to be full of energy and beauty, beget enthuſiaſm. The Chineſe education tends to regulate the ſoul, and keep it in order: the Japaneſe, to inflame and excite it to heroiſm. Theſe are guided through life by ſentiment; the Chineſe by reaſon and cuſtom.

The Chineſe aim only at truth in their writings, and place their happineſs in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Japaneſe have a quick reliſh of pleaſures, and would rather ſuffer, than be without feeling. In fine, the Chineſe ſeem to wiſh to counteract the violence and impetuoſity of the ſoul; the Japaneſe to keep it from ſinking into a ſtate of languor and inactivity.

It is natural to imagine that people of this character muſt be fond of novelty. The Portugueſe were accordingly received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. All the ports were open to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces: each contending who ſhould give them the moſt valuable advantages, grant them the moſt privileges, and ſhew them the greateſt civilities. Theſe merchants eſtabliſhed a prodigious trade. The Portugueſe carried thither the commodities of India which they brought from different markets; and Macao ſerved as a repoſitory for their European goods. Immenſe quantities of the productions of Europe and Aſia were conſumed by the Dairo, the uſurpers of his rights, the nobles, and the whole nation. But what had they to give in return?

The country of Japan is in general mountainous, ſtony, and by no means fertile. Its produce in rice, barley, and wheat, which are the only crops it admits of, is not ſufficient for the maintenance of its numerous inhabitants; who, notwithſtanding their activity, foreſight, and frugality, muſt periſh with famine, if the ſea did not ſupply them with great

great quantities of fiſh. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation; nor do the mechanic arts furniſh any article of trade except works in ſteel, which are the beſt we are acquainted with.

WERE it not for the advantages it derives from its mines of gold, ſilver, and copper, which are the richeſt in Aſia, and perhaps in the whole world, Japan could not ſupport its own expences. The Portugueſe every year carried off quantities of theſe metals, to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres *. They married alſo the richeſt of the Japaneſe heireſſes, and allied themſelves to the moſt powerful families.

Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in India.

WITH ſuch advantages, the avarice, as well as the ambition of the Portugueſe might have been ſatisfied. They were maſters of the coaſt of Guinea, Arabia, Perſia, and the two peninſulas of India. They were poſſeſſed of the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the iſles of Sunda, while their ſettlement at Macao inſured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

THROUGHOUT this immenſe tract, the will of the Portugueſe was the ſupreme law. Earth and ſea acknowledged their ſovereignty. Their authority was ſo abſolute, that things and perſons were dependent upon them, and moved entirely by their directions. No nation or private perſon dared to make voyages, or carry on trade, without obtaining their permiſſion and paſſport. Thoſe who had this liberty granted them, were prohibited

* Upon an average, about 634,000l.

from

from trading in cinnamon, ginger, pepper, timber, iron, ſteel, lead, tin, and arms, of which the conquerors reſerved to themſelves the excluſive benefit. A number of valuable articles, by which ſo many nations have ſince enriched themſelves, and which then bore a higher price on account of their novelty, were entirely ingroſſed by the Portugueſe. In conſequence of this monopoly, the prices of the produce and manufactures both in Europe and Aſia were regulated at their diſcretion.

In the midſt of ſo much glory, wealth, and conqueſt, the Portugueſe had not neglected that part of Africa, which lies between the cape of Good Hope and the Red ſea, and has in all ages been famed for the richneſs of its productions. The poſſeſſion of this country was on many accounts an important object: the Arabians had been ſettled there for ſeveral ages, and their numbers were greatly increaſed. They had formed along the coaſt of Zanguebar ſeveral ſmall independent ſovereignties, ſome of which made a conſiderable figure, and almoſt all of them were in good condition. The flouriſhing ſtate of theſe ſettlements was owing to mines of gold and ſilver, which they found within their reſpective territories, the produce of which enabled them to purchaſe the commodities of India. To poſſeſs themſelves of this treaſure, and to deprive their competitors of it, was looked upon by the Portugueſe as an indiſpenſable duty. Agreeable to this principle, theſe Arabian merchants were attacked, and without much difficulty ſubdued, about the year 1508.

Upon

Upon their ruin was eſtabliſhed an empire, extending from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the iſland of Moſambique was made the center. This iſland is ſeparated from the continent only by a narrow channel, and is no more than two leagues in circumference. Its port, which is excellent, and wants no advantage but a purer air, was fixed upon as a place for the veſſels of the conqueror to put in at, and as a ſtaple for all their merchandiſe. Here they uſed to wait for thoſe ſettled winds, which at certain times of the year blow without intermiſſion from the African to the Indian coaſts, as at other times of the year they blow in an oppoſite direction from the coaſts of India to thoſe of Africa.

Degeneracy of the Portugueſe in India.

THESE ſucceſſes properly improved might have formed a power ſo conſiderable, that it could not have been ſhaken; but the vices and folly of ſome of their chiefs, the abuſe of riches and of power, the wantonneſs of victory, the diſtance of their own country, changed the character of the Portugueſe. Religious zeal, which had added ſo much force and activity to their courage, now produced in them nothing but ferocity. They made no ſcruple of pillaging, cheating, and enſlaving the idolaters. They ſuppoſed that the Pope, in beſtowing the kingdoms of Aſia upon the Portugueſe monarchs, had not with-holden the property of individuals from their ſubjects. Being abſolute maſters of the eaſtern ſeas, they extorted a tribute from the ſhips of every country; they ravaged the coaſts, inſulted the princes, and became

became in a ſhort time the terror and ſcourge of all nations.

THE king of Sidor was carried off from his own palace, and murdered with his children, whom he had intruſted to the care of the Portugueſe.

AT Ceylon, the people were not ſuffered to cultivate the earth, excépt for their new maſters, who treated them with the greateſt barbarity.

AT Goa they had eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, and whoever was rich became a prey to the miniſters of that infamous tribunal.

FARIA, who was ſent out againſt the pirates from Malacca, China, and other parts, made a deſcent on the iſland of Calampui, and plundered the ſepulchres of the Chineſe emperors.

SOUZA cauſed all the pagodas on the Malabar coaſt to be deſtroyed, and his people inhumanly maſſacred the wretched Indians, who went to weep over the ruins of their temples.

CORREA terminated an obſtinate war with the king of Pegu, and both parties were to ſwear on the books of their ſeveral religions to obſerve the treaty. Correa ſwore on a collection of ſongs, and thought by this vile ſtratagem to elude his engagement.

NUNO D'ACUGHNA reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Daman on the coaſt of Cambaya; the inhabitants offered to ſurrender it to him, if he would permit them to carry off their treaſures. This requeſt was refuſed, and Nuno put them all to the ſword.

DIEGO DE SILVEIRA was cruizing in the Red ſea. A veſſel richly laden ſaluted him. The captain

captain came on board and gave him a letter from a Portugueſe general, which was to be his paſſport. The letter contained only theſe words: *I deſire the captains of ſhips belonging to the king of Portugal to ſeize upon this mooriſh veſſel, as lawful prize.*

In a ſhort time the Portugueſe preſerved no more humanity or good faith with each other than with the natives. Almoſt all the ſtates, where they had the command, were divided into factions.

There prevailed every where in their manners a mixture of avarice, debauchery, cruelty and devotion. They had moſt of them ſeven or eight concubines, whom they kept to work with the utmoſt rigour, and forced from them the money they gained by their labour. Such treatment of women was very repugnant to the ſpirit of chivalry.

The chiefs and principal officers admitted to their table a multitude of thoſe ſinging and dancing women, with which India abounds. Effeminacy introduced itſelf into their houſes and armies. The officers marched to meet the enemy in palanquins. That brilliant courage, which had ſubdued, ſo many nations, exiſted no longer among them. The Portugueſe were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a proſpect of plunder. In a ſhort time the king of Portugal no longer received the produce of the tribute, which was paid him by more than one hundred and fifty eaſtern princes. This money was loſt in its way from them to him. Such corruption prevailed in the finances, that the tributes of ſovereigns, the re-

venues of provinces, which ought to have been immenſe, the taxes levied in gold, ſilver, and ſpices, on the inhabitants of the continent and iſlands, were not ſufficient to keep up a few citadels, and to fit out the ſhipping that was neceſſary for the protection of trade.

It is a melancholy circumſtance to contemplate the fall of nations. Let us haſten to the adminiſtration of Don Juan da Caſtro, who reſtored to the Portugueſe ſome part of their virtue.

Castro was a man of much knowledge, conſidering the age he lived in. He poſſeſſed a noble and elevated ſoul; and the ſtudy of the ancients had preſerved in him that love of glory and of his country, which was ſo common among the Greeks and Romans.

In the beginning of his wiſe and glorious adminiſtration, Cojé-Sophar, miniſter of Mahmoud king of Cambaya, had inſpired his maſter with a deſign of attacking the Portugueſe. This man, whoſe father is ſaid to have been an Italian, and his mother a Greek, had raiſed himſelf from ſlavery to the conduct of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He had embraced Mohammediſm, and, though he had really no religion, he knew how to avail himſelf of the averſion the people had conceived againſt the Portugueſe, on account of the contempt they ſhewed for the religions of the country. He engaged in his ſervice experienced officers, veteran ſoldiers, able engineers, and even founders, whom he procured from Conſtantinople. His preparations ſeemed intended againſt the Mogul or the Patans,

tans, and when the Portugueſe leaſt expected it, he attacked and made himſelf maſter of Diu, and laid ſiege to the citadel.

THIS place, which is ſituated on a little iſland upon the coaſt of Guzarat, had always been conſidered as the key of India in thoſe times, when navigators never launched beyond the coaſt; and Surat was the great ſtaple of the eaſt. From the arrival of Gama, it had been conſtantly an object of ambition to the Portugueſe, into whoſe hands it fell at length in the time of d'Acughna. Maſcarenhas, who was governor of it at the juncture we are ſpeaking of, and ſhould have had nine hundred men, had only three: the reſt of his garriſon, by an abuſe very common in thoſe days, were employed in trade at the different towns upon the coaſt. He muſt have ſurrendered, if he had not received immediate aſſiſtance. Caſtro ſent him a reinforcement under the command of his ſon, who was killed in the attack. Cojé-Sophar ſhared the ſame fate; but his death did not ſlacken the operations of the ſiege.

CASTRO inſtituted funeral games in honour of thoſe who fell in defence of their country. He congratulated their parents in the name of the government, and received congratulations himſelf on the death of his eldeſt ſon. His ſecond preſided at the funeral games, and marched immediately after for Diu, to deſerve, as it were, the honours he had juſt been paying to his brother. The garriſon repulſed the enemy in every attack, and ſignalized themſelves every day by extraordinary actions. In the eyes of the Indians the Portugueſe were

more than men. *Happily*, ſaid they, *providence has decreed that there ſhould be but as few of them as there are of tygers and lions, leaſt they ſhould exterminate the human ſpecies.*

CASTRO himſelf headed a larger reinforcement than thoſe he had ſent. He threw himſelf into the citadel with proviſions, and above four thouſand men. It was debated, whether they ſhould give battle. The reaſons on both ſides were diſcuſſed. Garcias de Sâ, an old officer, commanded ſilence; *We have all ſpoken*, ſaid he, *now let us fight.* Caſtro was of the ſame opinion. The Portugueſe marched out to the enemy's intrenchments, and gained a ſignal victory. After having raiſed the ſiege, it was neceſſary to repair the citadel. They were in want of money, and Caſtro borrowed it on his own credit.

AT his return to Goa, he wiſhed to give his army the honours of a triumph after the manner of the ancients. He thought that ſuch honours would ſerve to revive the warlike ſpirit of the Portugueſe, and that the pomp of the ceremony might have a great effect on the imagination of the people. At his entry the gates of the city were ornamented with triumphal arches; the ſtreets were lined with tapeſtry; the women appeared at the windows in magnificent habits, and ſcattered flowers and perfumes upon the conquerors; while the people danced to the ſound of muſical inſtruments. The royal ſtandard was carried before the victorious ſoldiers, who marched in order. The viceroy crowned with branches of palm rode on a ſuperb car: the generals

generals of the enemy followed it, and after them the ſoldiers that had been made priſoners. The colours that had been taken from them, were carried in proceſſion reverſed and dragging on the ground, and were followed by their artillery and baggage. Repreſentations of the citadel they had delivered, and of the battle they had gained, enhanced the ſplendour of the ſpectacle. Verſes, ſongs, orations, firing of cannon, all concurred to render the feſtival magnificent, agreeable, and ſtriking.

Accounts of this triumph were brought to Europe. The wits condemned it as ridiculous, the bigots as profane. The queen of Portugal ſaid upon the occaſion, *That Caſtro had conquered like a chriſtian hero, and triumphed like a pagan one.*

The vigour of the Portugueſe, which Caſtro had re-animated, did not long continue. Corruption made daily advances among the citizens of every claſs. One of the viceroys ſet up boxes in the principal towns, in which any perſon might put memorials and articles of intelligence. Such a method might be very uſeful, and tend to a reformation of abuſes in an enlightened country, where the morals of the inhabitants were not totally ſpoiled, but among a ſuperſtitious and corrupt people of what ſervice could it be?

The original conquerors of India were none of them now in being, and their country exhauſted by too many enterprizes and colonies was not in a capacity to replace them. The defenders of the Portugueſe ſettlements were born in Aſia; their opulence, the ſoftneſs of the climate, the manner

of living, and, perhaps, the nature of the food, had taken from them much of the intrepidity of their forefathers. At the ſame time that they gave themſelves up to all thoſe exceſſes which make men hated, they had not courage enough left to make themſelves feared. They were monſters; poiſon, fire, aſſaſſination, every ſort of crime was become familiar to them; nor were they private perſons only who were guilty of ſuch practices; men in office ſet them the example! They maſſacred the natives; they deſtroyed one another. The governor, who was juſt arrived, loaded his predeceſſor with irons, that he might deprive him of his wealth. The diſtance of the ſcene, falſe witneſſes and large bribes ſecured every crime from puniſhment.

THE iſland of Amboyna was the firſt to avenge itſelf. A Portugueſe had at a public feſtival ſeized upon a very beautiful woman, and regardleſs of all decency, had proceeded to the greateſt of outrages. One of the iſlanders, named Genulio, armed his fellow-citizens; after which he called together the Portugueſe, and addreſſed them in the following manner: "To revenge affronts of ſo cruel a nature as thoſe we have received from you, would require actions, not words: yet we will ſpeak to you. You preach to us a deity, who delights, you ſay, in generous actions; but theft, murder, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs, are your common practice; your hearts are inflamed with every vice. Our manners can never agree with yours: nature foreſaw this, when ſhe ſeparated us by immenſe ſeas, and ye have overleaped her barriers.

"This audacity, of which ye are not aſhamed to "boaſt, is a proof of the corruption of your "hearts. Take my advice; leave to their repoſe "theſe nations that reſemble you ſo little; go, fix "your habitations among thoſe who are as brutal as "yourſelves; an intercourſe with you would be more "fatal to us than all the evils which it is in the "power of your God to inflict upon us. We re-"nounce your alliance for ever: your arms are ſu-"perior to ours; but we are more juſt than you, "and we do not fear you. The Itons are from this "day your enemies; fly from their country, and "beware how you approach it again."

THIS harangue, which thirty years before would have brought on the deſtruction of Amboyna, was liſtened to with a degree of patience that fully demonſtrated what change had taken place among the Portugueſe.

EQUALLY deteſted in every quarter, they ſaw a confederacy forming to expel them from the eaſt. All the great powers of India entered into the league, and for two or three years carried on their preparations in ſecret. The court of Liſbon was informed of them; and the reigning king Sebaſtian, who, if it had not been for his ſuperſtition, would have been a great prince, diſpatched Ataida and all the Portugueſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars of Europe, to India.

THE general opinion on their arrival was to abandon the diſtant ſettlements, and aſſemble their forces on the Malabar coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of Goa. Although Ataida was of opinion

that too great a number of ſettlements had been formed, he did not like the appearance of ſacrificing them. *Comrades*, ſaid he, *I mean to preſerve all, and ſo long as I live, the enemy ſhall not gain an inch of ground.* Immediately upon this he ſent ſuccours to all the places that were in danger, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for defending Goa.

THE Zamorin attacked Manjalor, Cochin, and Cananor. The king of Cambaya attacked Chaul, Daman, and Baichaim. The king of Achem laid ſiege to Malacca. The king of Ternate made war upon the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. Agalachem, a tributary to the Mogul, impriſoned the Portugueſe merchants at Surat. The queen of Gareopa endeavoured to drive them out of Onor.

ATAIDA, in the midſt of the care and trouble attending the ſiege of Goa, ſent five ſhips to Surat, which obliged Agalachem to ſet the Portugueſe, whom he had ſeized, at liberty. Thirteen ſhips were diſpatched to Malacca; upon which the king of Achem and his allies abandoned the ſiege. Beſides theſe, Ataida fitted out even the veſſels which were employed every year to carry tribute and merchandiſe to Liſbon. It was repreſented to him, that inſtead of depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of men who were to go on board this fleet, he ſhould preſerve them for the defence of India. *We ſhall be enough without them*, ſaid he; *the ſtate is in diſtreſs, and its hopes muſt not be diſappointed.* This reply ſurpriſed his opponents, and the fleet ſailed. At the time when the place was moſt vigorouſly preſſed by Idalcan, Ataida ſent troops to the ſuc-

cour of Cochin, and ſhips to Ceylon. The archbiſhop, whoſe authority was unlimited, interpoſed to prevent it. *Sir*, replied Ataida, *you underſtand nothing of theſe affairs; content yourſelf with recommending them to the bleſſing of God.* The Portugueſe, who came from Europe, exhibited prodigies of valour during this ſiege. It was oftentimes with difficulty, that Ataida could reſtrain them from throwing away their lives. Many of them would ſally out in the night, contrary to his orders, to attack the beſiegers in their lines.

THE viceroy did not depend ſo entirely on the force of his arms, as to reject the aſſiſtance of policy. He was informed, that Idalcan was governed by one of his miſtreſſes, and that ſhe was in the camp with him. Women who devote themſelves to the pleaſures of princes are generally ſlaves to ambition, and unacquainted with thoſe virtues which love inſpires. The miſtreſs of Idalcan ſuffered herſelf to be corrupted, and ſold to Ataida her lover's ſecrets. Idalcan was aware of the treaſon, but could not diſcover the traitor. At laſt, after ten months ſpent in toil and action, his tents deſtroyed, his troops diminiſhed, his elephants killed, and his cavalry unable to ſerve; this prince, overcome by the genius of Ataida, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated in ſhame and deſpair.

ATAIDA marched without delay to the aſſiſtance of Chaul, which was beſieged by Nizam-al-Muluck, king of Cambaya, at the head of more than a hundred thouſand men. The defence of Chaul had been conducted with as much intrepidity as that of Goa. It was followed by a great victory, which

which Ataida, with a handful of men, obtained over a numerous army, diſciplined by a long ſiege.

ATAIDA, after this, marched againſt the Zamorin, defeated and obliged him to ſign a treaty, by which he engaged never to maintain any ſhips of war.

THE Portugueſe became throughout the eaſt what they were under the immediate conduct of Ataida. A ſingle ſhip, commanded by Lopez Caraſco, fought for three days ſucceſſively againſt the whole fleet of the king of Achem. In the middle of the engagement word was brought to Lopez's ſon, that his father was killed: *we have one brave man the leſs*, ſaid he; *we muſt conquer, or deſerve to die like him.* Saying this, he took the command of the ſhip, and forcing his way in triumph through the enemy's fleet, anchored before Malacca.

NOR was courage the only virtue that revived among the Portugueſe at this period, ſo powerful is the aſcendant of a great man, even over the moſt corrupt nations. Thomas de Soſa had got as a ſlave a beautiful girl, who had not long before been promiſed to a young man that was in love with her. Hearing of the misfortune of his miſtreſs, he flew to throw himſelf at her feet, and partake of her chains. Soſa was preſent at their interview; they embraced, and melted into tears. *I give you your liberty*, ſaid the Portugueſe general; *go and live happy elſewhere.*

The management of the public money was likewiſe reformed by Ataida, who reſtrained thoſe abuſes, which are moſt injurious to ſtates, and moſt difficult

difficult to be reſtrained. But this good order, this returning heroiſm, this glorious moment, did not ſurvive his adminiſtration.

At the death of Sebaſtian, Portugal ſunk into a kind of anarchy, and was by degrees reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second. From this æra the Portugueſe in India ceaſed to conſider themſelves as of the ſame country. Some made themſelves independent, others turned pirates, and paid no reſpect to any flag. Many entered into the ſervice of the princes of the country, and theſe almoſt all became miniſters or generals, ſo great were the advantages this nation ſtill maintained over thoſe of India. No Portugueſe purſued any other object than the advancement of his own intereſt: there was no zeal, no union for the common good. Their poſſeſſions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no aſſiſtance to each other, and even claſhed in their projects and intereſts. Neither diſcipline, ſubordination, nor the love of glory, animated either the ſoldiers or the officers. Men of war no longer ventured out of the ports, or whenever they appeared were badly equipped. Manners became more and more depraved. Not one of their commanders had power enough to reſtrain the torrent of vice, and the majority of theſe commanders were themſelves corrupted. The Portugueſe at length loſt all their former greatneſs, when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper ſpirit of toleration, appeared in India, and contended with them for the empire of that country.

It may be affirmed, that at the time when Portugal firſt made its diſcoveries, the world was very little acquainted with the political principles of trade, the real power of different ſtates, the advantages of conqueſt, the manner of eſtabliſhing and preſerving colonies, and the benefits the mother country might derive from them.

It was a wiſe project to endeavour to find a paſſage by Africa to go to India, and to bring merchandiſe. The benefits which the Venetians derived by leſs direct roads, had juſtly excited the emulation of the Portugueſe; but it was proper there ſhould be ſome limits to ſo laudable an ambition.

This ſmall nation becoming on a ſudden miſtreſs of the richeſt and moſt extenſive commerce of the globe, ſoon conſiſted of nothing elſe but merchants, factors, and ſailors, who were deſtroyed by long voyages. Thus the Portugueſe loſt the foundation of all real power, which conſiſts in agriculture, natural induſtry, and population; and there was conſequently no proportion between their commerce and the means of keeping it up.

They carried theſe deſtructive meaſures ſtill further; and, animated with the rage of conqueſt, extended themſelves over a vaſt tract of land, which no European nation would have been able to preſerve, without impairing its own ſtrength.

Thus this ſmall country, which of itſelf was not very populous, conſtantly exhauſted itſelf in ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, ſailors, and inhabitants, ſent to ſupply the colonies.

THE ſpirit of religious intoleration that prevailed amongſt them, would not allow them to admit into the claſs of their own citizens the people of the eaſt end of Africa, and they were therefore obliged to be perpetually at war with their new ſubjects.

As the government ſoon changed its ſchemes of trade into projects of conqueſt; the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial ſpirit, ſoon aſſumed that of rapine and plunder.

TIME-PIECES, fire-arms, fine cloths, and other articles, which have been ſince carried into India, not being then brought to that degree of perfection they have lately acquired, the Portugueſe could not carry any thing there but money. They ſoon grew tired of this, and took away from the Indians by force what they had before obtained by purchaſe.

THEN was to be ſeen throughout the kingdom of Portugal the utmoſt profuſion of riches, joined to the moſt extreme poverty. The only opulent perſons were thoſe who had held ſome employment in India; while the huſbandman, who found no one to aſſiſt him in his toil, and the artiſts, who were unable to procure workmen, being ſoon compelled to forego their ſeveral occupations, were reduced to the loweſt ſtate of miſery.

ALL theſe misfortunes had been foreſeen. When the diſcovery of India engaged the attention of Portugal,

Portugal, that court flattered itſelf that the bare appearance of its ſhips in that mild climate, would inſure the poſſeſſion of it; that the trade of theſe countries would prove as inexhauſtible a ſource of riches to the nation, as it had been to thoſe people who had hitherto been maſters of it; and that by the treaſure ariſing from it, the ſtate, notwithſtanding its ſmall extent of territory, would become equal in ſtrength and grandeur to the moſt formidable powers. There were ſome, however, who were not miſled by theſe deluſive hopes. The moſt penetrating and moderate of the miniſters ventured to affirm, that the conſequence of running in ſearch of rich minerals, and glittering merchandiſe, would be an inattention to objects of real advantage, agriculture, and manufactures; that wars, ſhipwrecks, epidemical diſeaſes, and other accidents, would weaken the whole empire beyond recovery; that the ſtate thus carried out from its center by the impulſe of an extravagant ambition, would either by force or art attract the ſubjects to the moſt diſtant parts of Aſia; that even if the enterprize ſucceeded, it would raiſe a powerful confederacy, which it would be impoſſible for the crown of Portugal to defeat. Attempts were in vain made, ſome time after this, to convince theſe diſcerning men of their error, by ſhewing them that the Indians were ſubdued, the Moors repulſed, and the Turks defeated; and by exhibiting the tide of wealth that flowed into Portugal. Their opinions were too well grounded in experience to be ſhaken by the report of theſe

theſe flattering ſucceſſes. They ſtill inſiſted that a few years would diſcover the folly of puſhing theſe purſuits to extremity, and that they muſt inevitably lead to a corruption of morals, and end in ravages and univerſal confuſion. Time, the great arbiter of political matters, has ſince confirmed their predictions.

Preſent ſtate of the Portugueſe affairs in India.

OF all the conqueſts which the Portugueſe had made in India, they poſſeſs none at preſent but Macao, Diu, and Goa; and the united importance of theſe three ſettlements, in their intercourſe with India and Portugal, is very inconſiderable.

MACAO annually ſends two veſſels to Goa laden with China and other goods, that are rejected at Canton; the owners of which are generally Chineſe merchants. Theſe ſhips bring back as much of the ſandal, Indian ſaffron, ginger and pepper, as one of the frigates belonging to Goa has been able to procure on the ſouthern coaſt. The veſſel which trades to the north carries a part of the cargo that comes from China to Surat, where it takes in ſome linens, and completes its lading at Diu, which is not what it was formerly. A ſhip arrives every year from Europe, which procures at Goa a ſmall and indifferent cargo, conſiſting of goods picked up from China, Guzarat, and a few Engliſh factories, and ſells them at Moſambique, Braſil, Angola, or the capital.

SUCH is the declining ſtate into which the Portugueſe affairs in India are fallen, from that pinnacle of glory to which they had been raiſed by the

the bold adventurers who diſcovered, and the intrepid heroes who conquered that country. The ſcene of their glory and opulence is become that of their ruin and diſgrace. Their ſituation, however, is not ſo deſperate as it may appear. Their remaining poſſeſſions are more than ſufficient to entitle them to a large ſhare in the affairs of India. But this change can only be effected by the aids of philoſophy and a ſpirit of liberty. If the Portugueſe knew their true intereſts, if their ports were declared free, and thoſe who ſettled in them had their fortunes and the liberty of conſcience ſecured to them; Indians who are now oppreſſed by their government, and Europeans who are injured by their monopolizing companies, would reſort to their ſettlements in great numbers, and their flag, which has long been deſpiſed, would again become reſpectable. Their power cannot, however, be equal to that of the Dutch, a perſevering and conſiderate people, whoſe enterprizes we now proceed to relate.

BOOK II.

The ſettlements, wars, policy, and trade of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies.

THE republic of Holland has, from its firſt riſe, been an object of univerſal admiration, and cannot fail to engage the curioſity and attention of the remoteſt poſterity. Its inhabitants have on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their induſtry and enterprizing genius; but are particularly celebrated for their knowledge of maritime affairs, and their expeditions to the continent of India. Before we attend them in their progreſs to theſe opulent and extenſive regions, let us trace their hiſtory to its earlieſt æra. Such a retroſpect is peculiarly proper in a work of this nature, as it will comprehend at one glance, all thoſe characteriſtic marks by which the genius of a nation is diſtinguiſhed. It is neceſſary that a reader who reflects may be enabled to judge of himſelf, if the original ſtate of this nation were ſuch as afforded a preſage of its future power; and whether the heroic aſſociates of Civilis, who defied the Roman power, did not transfuſe their ſpirit into thoſe brave republicans, who, under the auſpices of Naſſau, BOOK II.

BOOK II. oppoſed the dark and odious tyranny of Philip the Second.

Ancient revolutions in Holland.

It is a fact eſtabliſhed by the beſt hiſtorical authority, that in the century preceding the chriſtian æra, the Battæ, diſſatisfied with their ſituation in Heſſe, ſettled upon the iſland formed by the Naal and the Rhine; which was marſhy, and had few or no inhabitants. They gave the name of Batavia to their new country. Their government was a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Their chief was, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than a principal citizen, whoſe office was rather to adviſe than to command. The principal men who exerciſed juriſdiction, and commanded the troops in their reſpective diſtricts, were choſen, as well as the kings, in a general aſſembly. A hundred perſons, ſelected from among the people, preſided over every country, and acted as chiefs in the different hamlets. The whole nation was, in ſome meaſure, an army always in readineſs. Each family compoſed a body of militia, which ſerved under a captain of its own chuſing.

Such was the ſtate of Batavia when Cæſar paſſed the Alps. This Roman general defeated the Helvetians, ſeveral tribes of the Gauls, the Belgæ and Germans, who had croſſed the Rhine, and extended his conqueſts beyond that river. In conſequence of this expedition, the boldneſs and ſucceſs of which were equally aſtoniſhing, the protection of the conqueror was courted on all ſides.

Some writers, too zealous for the honour of their country, affirm that the Batavians entered into

into an alliance with Rome: but the truth is, they ſubmitted, on condition that they ſhould be governed by their own laws, pay no tribute, and be obliged only to perform military ſervices.

CÆSAR ſoon diſtinguiſhed the Batavians from the other nations that were ſubdued by the Romans. This conqueror of the Gauls, when by Pompey's influence he was recalled to Rome, and refuſed to obey the ſenate's orders; when relying on the abſolute authority which his conduct had at length given him over the legions and auxiliaries, he attacked his enemies in Spain, Italy, and Aſia: at this juncture, ſenſible that the Batavians had a principal ſhare in his victories, he gave them the glorious appellation of *the friends and brethren of the Roman people.*

AFTER this, irritated by the unjuſt proceedings of certain governors, they obeyed the dictates of that noble impulſe, ſo becoming men of ſpirit, which prompts them to take arms to revenge an inſult. They ſhewed themſelves as formidable enemies, as they were faithful allies; but theſe troubles ſubſiding, the Batavians were pacified, but not ſubdued.

WHEN Rome, after having riſen to a pitch of greatneſs unknown before, and which has never ſince been equalled by any ſtate, no longer retained thoſe manly virtues and ſtrict principles which were the ground-work of that noble ſuperſtructure; when her laws had loſt their force, her armies their diſcipline, and her citizens the love of their country: the barbarians, who by the terror of the Roman name had been driven to

the north, where they had been confined by force to remain, poured like a torrent into the ſouthern countries. The empire was torn in pieces, and the fineſt provinces became a prey to thoſe whom the Romans had always either degraded or oppreſſed. The Franks, in particular, ſeized upon the countries belonging to the Gauls; and Batavia became a part of that extenſive and famous kingdom, which was founded by theſe conquerors in the fifth century.

THE new monarchy experienced thoſe inconveniences which are almoſt inſeparable from riſing ſtates; and are indeed too frequently felt in the beſt eſtabliſhed governments. It was ſometimes under the dominion of a ſingle perſon; and at others was ſubject to the caprice of a number of tyrants. It was conſtantly engaged either in foreign wars, or expoſed to the rage of inteſtine diſſentions. Sometimes it made the neighbouring ſtates tremble for their ſafety; but much more frequently ſuffered from the incurſions of the northern people who ravaged its provinces. It was equally the victim of the weakneſs of ſeveral of its princes, and of the unbounded ambition of their favourites and miniſters. The overbearing ſpirit of the pontiffs undermined the power of the throne, and their inſolence brought both the laws and religion into diſgrace. Anarchy and tyranny followed each other ſo cloſe, that the moſt ſanguine deſpaired of ever ſeeing affairs put upon a tolerable footing. The glorious æra of Charlemagne's government was only a tranſient gleam of light. As his great action

were

were the effect of his genius, and not in the leaſt owing to the influence of any good inſtitutions; after his death, affairs returned to that ſtate of confuſion from which they had been retrieved by his father Pepin, and more particularly by his own endeavours. The French monarchy, the limits of which he had extended too far, was divided. Germany, to which the Rhine ſerved as a natural barrier, fell to the ſhare of one of his grandſons: and, by an unaccountable arrangement, Batavia, to which the Normans in their excurſions had a little before given the name of Holland, was included in that allotment.

In the beginning of the tenth century, the German branch of the Carlovinians became extinct. As the other princes of France had neither courage nor power to aſſert their rights, the Germans eaſily diſengaged themſelves from a foreign yoke. Thoſe of the nation, who, by virtue of a delegated power from the monarch, governed the five circles of which the ſtate was compoſed, choſe a chief out of their own body. This chief, fearing leſt theſe powerful men might be tempted to throw off their dependence, if any ſeverer conditions were required of them, contented himſelf with their fidelity and homage, and exacted only ſuch ſervices as they were obliged to by the feudal laws.

At this memorable juncture, the counts of Holland, who, as well as the reſt of the provincial chiefs, had hitherto exerciſed a precarious and dependent authority, obtained the ſame rights as the other great vaſſals of Germany: and as they afterwards

wards enlarged their territories by conqueſt, marriages, and grants from the emperors, they in time became totally independent of the empire. They were not equally ſucceſsful in their unjuſt attempts againſt the public liberty. Their ſubjects were not to be intimidated by force, cajoled by flattery, or corrupted by profuſion. War and peace, taxes, laws, and treaties were managed by the three united powers of the count, the nobles, and the towns. The republican ſpirit ſtill prevailed in the nation, when by ſome extraordinary events it fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy, whoſe former power, though before conſiderable, was greatly ſtrengthened by this union.

THOSE who had the ſagacity to inveſtigate probabilities, foreſaw, that this ſtate, which was formed as it were by the gradual accretion of many others, would one day be of great weight in the political ſyſtem of Europe. The genius of its inhabitants, its advantageous ſituation, and its real ſtrength, afforded moſt a certain proſpect of its future greatneſs. Theſe projects and expectations, which were juſt ripening into realities, were diſappointed by an event, which, though it happens every day, never fails to baffle the deſigns of ambition. The male line in that houſe became extinct; and Mary, who was ſole heireſs to its dominions, by her marriage in 1477, transferred to the houſe of Auſtria the advantages that had been gained by ſeveral ſucceſsful ſtruggles, a great number of intrigues, and ſome acts of injuſtice.

At this æra, ſo famous in hiſtory, each of the ſeventeen provinces of the low countries had particular laws, extenſive privileges, and almoſt a diſtinct government. The excellent principle of union which equally contributes to the welfare and ſecurity both of empires and republics, was univerſally diſregarded. The people having been, from time immemorial, accuſtomed to this ſtate of confuſion, had no idea that it was poſſible to enjoy a more rational form of government. This prejudice was of ſo long a ſtanding, ſo generally adopted, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Maximilian, Philip and Charles, the three Auſtrian princes who firſt inherited the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, thought it prudent not to attempt any innovation. They flattered themſelves, that ſome happier conjuncture might enable their ſucceſſors to execute with ſafety, a plan, which they could not even attempt without danger.

Riſe of the republic of Holland.

At this time a great change was preparing in the minds of men in Europe. The revival of letters, the extenſion of commerce, the invention of printing, and the diſcovery of the compaſs, brought on the æra when human reaſon was to ſhake off the yoke of ſome of thoſe prejudices which had gained ground in the barbarous ages.

The intelligent part of the world were for the moſt part cured of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. They were diſguſted at the abuſe the popes made of their authority; the contributions they raiſed upon the people; the ſale of indulgences; and more particularly at thoſe abſurd refinements with

which they had diſguiſed the plain religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

But theſe diſcerning people were not the firſt who attempted a revolution. This honour was reſerved for a turbulent monk, whoſe barbarous eloquence rouzed the northern nations. The moſt enlightened men of the age contributed to undeceive the reſt. Some of the European princes embraced the reformed religion; others held communion with the church of Rome. The former found no difficulty in bringing over their ſubjects to their opinions; while the latter had much difficulty to prevent theirs from embracing the new doctrines. They had recourſe to a variety of meaſures, which were too often purſued with rigour. That ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which had deſtroyed the Saxons, the Albigenſes, and the Huſſites, was revived. Gibbets were erected and fires kindled anew, to check the progreſs of the new doctrine.

No ſovereign was ſo ready to make uſe of theſe expedients as Philip II. His tyranny was felt in every part of his extenſive monarchy; and his zeal for his religion prompted him to perſecute all thoſe who fell under the denomination of heretics or infidels. Deſigns were formed to deprive the inhabitants of the low countries of their privileges; and millions of citizens were condemned to the ſcaffold. The people revolted: and the ſame ſcene was renewed which the Venetians had ſhewn the world many centuries before, when flying from oppreſſion, and finding no retreat upon land, they ſought an aſylum upon the waters. Seven ſmall provinces lying on the northern ſide of Brabant

Brabant and Flanders, which were rather overflowed than watered by large rivers, and often covered by the ſea, whoſe violence was with difficulty reſtrained by dikes; having no wealth but what accrued from a few paſture lands, and a little fiſhing; formed one of the richeſt and moſt powerful republics in the world; and which may, perhaps, be conſidered as the model of commercial ſtates. The firſt efforts of this united people had not the deſired ſucceſs; but though they were frequently defeated, they ended with victories. The Spaniſh troops they had to encounter, were the beſt in Europe, and at firſt gained ſeveral advantages. But by degrees the new republicans recovered their loſſes. They reſiſted with firmneſs; and gaining experience from their own miſcarriages, as well as from the example of their enemies, they at length became their ſuperiors in the art of war: and the neceſſity they lay under of diſputing every inch of ground in ſo confined a country as Holland, gave them opportunities of improving the art of fortifying a country or a town in the beſt manner.

THE weak ſtate of Holland, at its firſt riſe, obliged it to ſeek for arms and aſſiſtance from every quarter where there was any proſpect of obtaining them. It granted an aſylum to pirates of all nations, with a view of employing them againſt the Spaniards; and this was the foundation of their naval ſtrength. Wiſe laws, an admirable order, a conſtitution which preſerved equality among mankind, an excellent police and a ſpirit of toleration, ſoon erected this republic into

into a powerful ſtate. In the year 1590, the Hollanders more than once humbled the pride of the Spaniſh flag. They had already eſtabliſhed a kind of trade, the moſt ſuitable that could be to their ſituation. Their veſſels were employed, as they are ſtill, in carrying the merchandiſe of one nation to another. The Hanſe Towns, and ſome towns in Italy, were in poſſeſſion of theſe tranſports: and the Hollanders, in competition with them, by their frugality ſoon gained the advantage. Their ſhips of war protected their merchantmen. Their merchants grew ambitious of extending their commerce, and got the trade of Liſbon into their hands, where they purchaſed Indian goods, which they ſold again to all the ſtates of Europe.

PHILIP II. having made himſelf maſter of Portugal, enjoined his new ſubjects in 1594, to hold no correſpondence with his enemies. This arbitrary prince did not foreſee that this prohibition, which he thought muſt weaken the Hollanders, would in fact render them more formidable. Had not theſe diſcerning navigators been excluded from a port, upon which the whole ſucceſs of their naval enterpriſes depended, there is reaſon to believe that they would have contented themſelves with the large commerce they carried on in the European ſeas, without thinking of ſailing to remoter climates. But as it was impoſſible to preſerve their trade without the productions of the eaſt, they were forced to go beyond a ſphere which was, perhaps, too confined for a ſituation like theirs;

theirs; and reſolved to ſeek their riches at the fountain head.

The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India.

It appeared to be the beſt plan to fit out ſhips, and ſend them to India: but the Hollanders wanted pilots who were acquainted with the ſeas, and factors who underſtood the commerce of Aſia. They were alarmed at the danger of making long voyages, where the enemy was maſter of the coaſts, and of having their veſſels intercepted during a paſſage of ſix thouſand leagues. It was judged more adviſeable to attempt the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Japan through the northern ſeas, which would be ſhorter, as well as more wholeſome and ſecure. The Engliſh had made the attempt in vain; and the Hollanders renewed it with no better ſucceſs.

While they were engaged in this enterpriſe, Cornelius Houtman, a merchant of that nation, a man of a penetrating and daring genius, being detained at Liſbon for debt, gave the merchants at Amſterdam to underſtand, that if they would procure his enlargement, he would communicate to them many diſcoveries he had made, which might turn to their advantage. He had in fact informed himſelf of every particular relating to the paſſage to India, and the manner of carrying on trade in thoſe parts. His propoſals were accepted, and his debts diſcharged. The information he gave proving anſwerable to the expectations he had raiſed, thoſe who had releaſed him from his confinement, formed an aſſociation under the name of the Company of diſtant Countries, and gave him the command

mand of four veſſels to conduct them to India by the cape of Good Hope.

THE principal object of this voyage was to obſerve the coaſts, the inhabitants and the trade of different places, avoiding, as much as poſſible, the Portugueſe ſettlements. Houtman reconnoitred the coaſts of Africa and Brazil; made ſome ſtay at Madagaſcar, touched at the Maldives, and viſited the iſlands of Sunda: where finding the country abounding in pepper, he bought a quantity of it, together with ſome others of the moſt valuable ſpices. His prudence procured him an alliance with the principal ſovereign of Java; but the Portugueſe, notwithſtanding they were hated, and had no ſettlement upon the iſland, created him ſome enemies. Having got the better in ſome ſkirmiſhes he was unavoidably engaged in, he returned with his ſmall ſquadron to Holland; where, though he brought little wealth, he raiſed much expectation. He brought away ſome negroes, Chineſe, and inhabitants of Malabar, a young native of Malacca, a Japaneſe, and Abdul, a pilot of the Guzarat, a man of great abilities, and perfectly well acquainted with the coaſt of India.

THE account given by Houtman, and the diſcoveries made in the courſe of the voyage, encouraged the merchants of Amſterdam to form the plan of a ſettlement at Java, which, at the ſame time that it would throw the trade of pepper into their hands, place them near the iſlands that produce more valuable ſpices, and facilitate their communication with China and Japan, would fix them at a diſtance from the center of that European

ropean power, which they had the moſt reaſon to dread in India. Admiral Van Neck, who was ſent upon this important expedition with eight veſſels, arrived at the iſland of Java, where he found the inhabitants prejudiced againſt his nation. They fought and negociated by turns. Abdul the pilot, the Chineſe, and above all, the hatred that prevailed againſt the Portugueſe, proved of ſervice to the Dutch. They were permitted to trade, and, in a ſhort time, fitted out four veſſels laden with ſpices and ſome linens. The admiral, with the reſt of his fleet ſailed to the Moluccas, where he learnt that the natives of the country had forced the Portugueſe to abandon ſome places, and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of expelling them from the reſt. He eſtabliſhed factories in ſeveral of theſe iſlands, entered into treaty with ſome of the ſovereigns, and returned to Europe laden with riches.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at his return. The ſucceſs of his voyage raiſed a freſh emulation. Societies were formed in moſt of the maritime and trading towns in the low countries. Theſe aſſociations ſoon became ſo numerous, that they injured each other; as the rage of purchaſing raiſed the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India, and the neceſſity of ſelling them made them bear a low price in Europe. They were on the point of being ruined by their own efforts, and by the want of power in each of them to reſiſt a formidable enemy, fully bent upon their deſtruction, when the government, which is

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ſometimes wiſer than individuals, opportunely ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance.

Eſtabliſhment of the India company.

In 1602 the ſtates-general united theſe different ſocieties into one body, to which they gave the name of the Eaſt India Company. It was inveſted with authority to make peace or war with the eaſtern princes, to erect forts, chuſe their own governors, maintain garriſons, and to nominate officers for the conduct of the police, and the adminiſtration of juſtice.

This company, which had no parallel in antiquity, and was the pattern of all ſucceeding ſocieties of the ſame kind, ſet out with great advantages. The private aſſociations which had been previouſly formed, proved of ſervice to it by their misfortunes, and even by their miſtakes. The great number of veſſels which they fitted out had contributed to make all the branches of trade perfectly underſtood; to form many officers and ſeamen; and to encourage citizens of repute to undertake theſe foreign expeditions; perſons only of no eſtimation or fortune having been expoſed in the firſt voyages.

So many united aſſiſtances could not fail of being improved to advantage, when proſecuted with vigour; and, accordingly, the new company ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of power. It was a new ſtate, erected within the ſtate itſelf, which enriched it, and increaſed its ſtrength abroad; but might, in time, weaken the influence of the democratical principle, which inſpires the love of equality

equality and œconomy, of the laws, and of one's own countrymen.

Soon after its eſtabliſhment, the company fitted out for India fourteen ſhips and ſome yachts, under the command of Admiral Warwick, whom the Hollanders look upon as the founder of their commerce, and of their powerful colonies in the eaſt. He built a factory in the iſland of Java, and ſecured it by fortifications; he likewiſe built another in the territories of the king of Johor; and formed alliances with ſeveral princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portugueſe, in which he had almoſt always the advantage. In thoſe parts where the Portugueſe had appeared in the character of merchants only, he found it neceſſary to remove the prejudices they had raiſed againſt his countrymen, whom they had repreſented as a ſet of banditti, avowed enemies to all regal authority, and addicted to all manner of vice. The behaviour of the Hollanders and the Portugueſe ſpeedily convinced the people of Aſia which of theſe nations had the advantage in point of manners. A bloody war ſoon enſued between theſe two powers.

Wars of the Hollanders and Portugueſe.

The Portugueſe had on their ſide the advantage of a thorough knowledge of theſe ſeas; they were accuſtomed to the climate, and had the aſſiſtance of ſeveral nations, which, though they hated them, were compelled through fear to fight for their oppreſſors. The Hollanders were animated by the critical ſituation of their affairs; by the hopes of procuring an abſolute and laſting independency,

pendency, which at preſent they could not boaſt of; by the ambition of eſtabliſhing a vaſt commerce upon the ruins of that of their old maſters; and by the hatred which a difference in religious opinions had rendered implacable. Theſe paſſions, at the ſame time that they inſpired all the activity, ſtrength, and perſeverance neceſſary for the execution of great deſigns, did not hinder them from taking their meaſures with precaution. Their humanity and honeſty attached the people to their cauſe; and many of them ſoon declared againſt their ancient oppreſſors.

The Hollanders were continually ſending over freſh coloniſts, ſhips, and troops, while the Portugueſe were left without any forces but their own. Spain did not ſend them any fleets of merchantmen, or grant them the protection of the ſquadron which had hitherto been kept in India; ſhe neither repaired their places of ſtrength, or renewed their garriſons. It ſhould ſeem that ſhe wanted to humble her new ſubjects, whom ſhe thought not ſo ſubmiſſive as might be wiſhed, and to perpetuate her authority by expoſing them to repeated loſſes. She proceeded ſtill further; and to prevent Portugal from having any reſources in itſelf, ſhe ſeized upon its inhabitants, and ſent them to Italy, Flanders, and other countries where ſhe was at war.

Notwithstanding this, the ſcale continued even for a long time, and the ſucceſs was various on both ſides. Nor is this in the leaſt ſurprizing. The Portugueſe, on their arrival in

India, had nothing to encounter at ſea but a few weak veſſels, ill built, ill armed, and ill defended; nothing by land but effeminate men, voluptuous princes, and daſtardly ſlaves: whereas thoſe who came to wreſt the ſceptre of Aſia out of their hands, had veſſels to board of the ſame conſtruction as their own; regular fortreſſes to aſſault, and Europeans to conquer and ſubdue, who were grown haughty by a long ſeries of victories, and by being the founders of an immenſe empire.

The time was now come, when the Portugueſe were to expiate their perfidy, their robberies, and their cruelties: and the prediction of one of the kings of Perſia was fulfilled, who aſking an ambaſſador juſt arrived at Goa, how many governors his maſter had beheaded ſince the eſtabliſhment of his power in India; received for anſwer, *None at all. So much the worſe,* replied the monarch; *his authority cannot be of long duration in a country where ſo many acts of outrage and barbarity are committed.*

It does not, however, appear, in the courſe of this war, that the Hollanders poſſeſſed that daring raſhneſs, that unſhaken intrepidity, which had marked the enterprizes of the Portugueſe; but there was a conſiſtency and unremitting perſeverance obſervable in all their deſigns. Often repulſed, but never diſcouraged, they renewed their attack with freſh vigour, and on a better plan. They never expoſed themſelves to the danger of a total defeat. If, in any engagement, their ſhips had ſuffered, they ſheered off; and as they never loſt ſight of their commercial intereſt, the vanquiſhed

fleet, while it was repairing on the coasts belonging to some of the Indian princes, purchased merchandise, and returned to Holland. By this method the company acquired a new fund, which enabled them to undertake fresh enterprizes. If the Hollanders did not always perform great actions, they never attempted useless ones. They had neither the pride nor the vain glory of the Portuguese, who had frequently engaged in war rather perhaps through the love of fame than of power. The Hollanders steadily pursued their first plan, without suffering themselves to be diverted from it either by motives of revenge, or projects of conquest.

In the year 1607, they endeavoured to open a communication with the ports belonging to the vast empire of China, which, at that time, was cautious of admitting strangers. The Portuguese found means, by bribery, and the intrigues of their missionaries, to get the Hollanders excluded. They resolved to extort by force what they could not obtain by treaty, and determined to intercept the vessels belonging to the Chinese. This piratical proceeding did not answer their expectations. A Portuguese fleet sailed from Macao to attack the pirates who thought proper to retire. The inequality of their numbers, the impossibility of refitting in seas where they had no shelter, and the fear of disgracing their nation in the eyes of a great empire, whose good opinion it was their interest to preserve; all these considerations determined

mined them to decline the fight: but this was only for a ſhort time.

Some years after the Hollanders laid ſiege to a place, the importance of which they had become acquainted with. The enterprize did not ſucceed; but as they never loſt any advantage that could be gained by their armaments, they ſent that which they had employed againſt Macao to form a colony in the Piſcadore-iſles. Theſe are rocks where no water is to be had in dry ſeaſons, and no proviſions at any time. Theſe inconveniencies were not counterbalanced by any ſolid advantages, becauſe the people of the neighbouring continent were forbidden, on the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with ſtrangers who might become dangerous ſo near the coaſts. The Hollanders had determined to abandon a ſettlement which they deſpaired of making uſeful, when, in the year 1624, they were invited to fix at Formoſa, and had aſſurances given them that the Chineſe merchants would be allowed full liberty to go there and trade with them.

The Hollanders form a ſettlement at Formoſa.

This iſland, though it lies oppoſite to the province of Fokien, at the diſtance of only thirty leagues from the coaſt, was not ſubject to the dominion of the Chineſe, whoſe genius does not incline them to conqueſt, and who, through an inhuman and ill-judged policy, would rather ſuffer a decreaſe of population, than tranſplant their ſupernumerary ſubjects to the neighbouring countries. Formoſa was found to be a hundred and thirty or forty leagues in circumference. Its inha-

bitants, if we may judge from their manners and their appearance, ſeemed to be deſcended from the Tartars in the moſt northern part of Aſia: and probably found their way through the country of Corea. They lived chiefly by fiſhing and hunting, and ſcarce wore any covering.

THE Hollanders, having without difficulty informed themſelves of every particular that prudence ſuggeſted, thought it moſt adviſeable to fix their ſettlement on a ſmall iſland that lay contiguous to the larger one. This ſituation afforded them three conſiderable advantages; they could eaſily defend themſelves if hatred or jealouſy ſhould incline their neighbours to give them any diſturbance; the two iſlands afforded them a harbour, and they might carry on a ſafe communication with China during the monſoons, which they could not have done in any other poſition they could have choſen.

THE new colony inſenſibly gained ſtrength without attracting any notice, 'till it roſe at once to a degree of conſequence that aſtoniſhed all Aſia. This unexpected proſperity was owing to the conqueſt of China by the Tartars. Thus it is that torrents enrich the vallies with the ſtores they carry down from the deſolated mountains. Above a hundred thouſand Chineſe, who reſolved not to ſubmit to the conqueror, fled for refuge to Formoſa. They carried with them that activity which is peculiar to their character, the manner of cultivating rice and ſugar, and were the means of drawing thither from their own nation an infinite number of

veſſels. In a ſhort time the iſland became the centre of all the correſpondence that was carried on between Java, Siam, the Philippine iſlands, China, Japan, and the reſt of thoſe countries; and in a few years was conſidered as the firſt mart in India. The Hollanders flattered themſelves with the proſpect of ſtill greater advantages; but fortune deceived their expectations.

A CHINESE, called Equam, of obſcure birth, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition had made him turn pirate, had attained, by the greatneſs of his talents, to the rank of high-admiral. He defended his country againſt the Tartars for a conſiderable time, but ſeeing his maſter obliged to ſubmit, he endeavoured to make terms for himſelf with the conquerors. He was decoyed to Pekin, where he was ſeized, and condemned by the uſurper to perpetual impriſonment, in which he is ſuppoſed to have died of poiſon. Coxinga ſaved himſelf on board his father's fleet, vowed eternal enmity to the oppreſſors of his family and country, and concluded that he ſhould be able to take the ſevereſt revenge upon them, if he made himſelf maſter of Formoſa. He made a deſcent upon it, and the miniſter Hambroeck was taken priſoner in the attack.

HAMBROECK, being appointed with ſome other priſoners to be ſent to the fort of Zealand to prevail with his countrymen to capitulate, called to mind the example of Reguhus; he exhorted them to be firm, and uſed every argument to perſuade them, that if they ſtrenuouſly perſevered,

they would oblige the enemy to retire. The garriſon being aware that this generous man would, on his return to the camp, fall a ſacrifice to his magnanimity, uſed their utmoſt efforts to detain him. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the tendereſt ſolicitations of two of his daughters, who were in the citadel. His anſwer was, *I have pledged my honour to return to my confinement; I hold myſelf obliged to perform my promiſe. My memory ſhall never be ſullied with the reproach, that out of regard to my own ſafety I was the cauſe of ſeverer treatment, or perhaps of death, to the companions of my misfortune.* After this heroic ſpeech he calmly returned to the Chineſe camp, and the ſiege began.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fortifications were in a bad condition, and the fort ill ſtored with ammunition and proviſions; notwithſtanding the garriſon was weak, and the ſuccours ſent to attack the enemy had retreated with diſgrace, Coyet the governor made an obſtinate defence. In the beginning of the year 1662, being forced to capitulate, he repaired to Batavia, where his ſuperiors had recourſe to thoſe iniquitous ſtate-intrigues which are frequently practiſed in all governments. They caſt reflections upon his conduct, to prevent any ſuſpicion that the loſs of ſo important a ſettlement was owing to their own folly, or negligence. The attempts made to recover it, proved unſucceſsful; and the Hollanders were at laſt reduced to the neceſſity of carrying on a trade with Canton on the ſame conditions,

ditions, and under the ſame reſtrictions as other nations.

It may appear ſomewhat ſingular, that ſince the year 1683, when Formoſa fell under the dominion of China, no Europeans have ever attempted to form any ſettlement there, upon the ſame conditions at leaſt, as that of the Portugueſe at Macao. But beſides that the ſuſpicious temper of the nation to whom that iſland belongs, gives no room to expect ſuch an indulgence from them, one may venture to pronounce that ſuch an enterpriſe would be a bad one. Formoſa was a place of importance only ſo long as the Japaneſe had a communication with it, and its produce was allowed a free importation into Japan.

The Hollanders ſeemed to be for ever excluded from this empire. After ſome unſucceſsful attempts, they began to deſpair of getting any footing there; when one of their captains, who was thrown upon the coaſts of Japan by a ſtorm in 1609, informed them that the people were favourably diſpoſed towards them.

Trade of the Hollanders to Japan.

About a century before this, the government of Japan had been changed. A magnanimous people had been made furious by a tyrant. Taycoſama, who from a ſoldier became a general, and from a general an emperor, had uſurped the whole power, and aboliſhed all the rights of the people. Having ſtripped the Dairo of the little remains of his authority, he had reduced all the petty princes of the country under his ſubjection. Tyranny is arrived at its height when it eſtabliſhes

deſpotiſm by law. Taycoſama went ſtill further, and confirmed it by ſanguinary laws. His civil legiſlation was actually a code of criminal proſecutions, exhibiting nothing but ſcaffolds, puniſhments, criminals, and executioners.

THE Japaneſe, alarmed at this proſpect of ſlavery, had recourſe to arms. Torrents of blood were ſhed throughout the empire: and though liberty might be ſuppoſed to be ſuperior in courage to tyranny, the latter triumphed over it. Tyranny became ſtill more ferocious, when animated by the ſpirit of revenge. An inquiſition, public as well as private, diſmayed the citizens; they became ſpies, informers, accuſers, and enemies to each other. An error in the adminiſtration of the police was conſtrued into a crime againſt the ſtate; and an unguarded expreſſion was made high-treaſon. Proſecution aſſumed the character of legiſlation. Three ſucceſſive generations were doomed to welter in their own blood; and rebel parents gave birth to a proſcribed poſterity.

DURING a whole century, Japan reſembled a dungeon filled with criminals, or a place of execution. The throne, which was raiſed upon the ruins of the altar, was ſurrounded with gibbets. The ſubjects were become as cruel as their tyrant. They ſought, with a ſtrange avidity, to procure death, by committing crimes which were readily ſuggeſted under a deſpotic government. For want of executioners, they puniſhed themſelves for the loſs of liberty, or revenged themſelves of tyranny, by putting an end to their own exiſtence.

exiſtence. To enable them to face death, and to aſſiſt them in ſuffering it, they derived new courage from chriſtianity, which the Portugueſe had introduced amongſt them.

The oppreſſions the Japaneſe laboured under afforded an opportunity for the profeſſors of this new worſhip to make numerous proſelytes. The miſſionaries who preached a ſuffering religion, were liſtened to with attention. In vain did the doctrine of Confucius try to gain reception among a people who bordered upon China. Some erroneous tenets of chriſtianity, which bore a conſiderable affinity to thoſe of the Budzoiſts, and the penances equally enjoined by the two ſyſtems, procured the Portugueſe miſſionaries ſeveral proſelytes. But ſetting aſide this reſemblance, the Japaneſe would have choſen to embrace chriſtianity merely from a motive of hatred to the prince.

If the new religion was diſcountenanced at court, it could not fail to meet with a favourable reception in the families of the dethroned princes. It added freſh fuel to their reſentment: they were fond of a ſtrange God whom the tyrant did not love. Taycoſama ruled with a rod of iron, and perſecuted the chriſtians as enemies to the ſtate. He proſcribed the doctrines imported from Europe, and this proſcription made them ſtrike the deeper root. Piles were kindled, and millions of victims threw themſelves into the flames. The emperors of Japan tranſcended thoſe of Rome in the art of perſecuting the chriſtians. During the ſpace of forty years the ſcaffolds were ſtained with the innocent blood of martyrs. This proved the ſeed of chriſtianity,

chriſtianity, and of ſedition alſo. Near forty thouſand chriſtians in the kingdom or province of Darima took up arms in the name, and for the name of Chriſt; and defended themſelves with ſuch fury, that not a ſingle perſon ſurvived the ſlaughter occaſioned by perſecution.

The navigation, trade, and factories of the Portugueſe were preſerved during this great criſis. The court and people had, however, for a long time, been jealous of them; they had incurred the ſuſpicion of government by their ambition, their intrigues, and perhaps by their ſecret conſpiracies; and had rendered themſelves odious to the people by their avarice, their pride, and their treachery. But as the merchandiſe they brought was grown into faſhion, and could not be procured by any other channel, they were not excluded from Japan till the end of the year 1638; when other merchants were in a ſituation to ſupply their place.

The Hollanders, who had, for ſome time, entered into competition with them, were not involved in the diſgrace. As theſe republicans had never ſhewn themſelves ambitious of interfering with the government; as they had ſuffered their artillery to be employed againſt the chriſtians; as they were at war with the proſcribed nations; as their ſtrength was not thoroughly known, and they appeared to be reſerved, pliant, modeſt, and entirely devoted to commerce; they were tolerated, though at the ſame time they were ſubjected to great reſtraints. Three years after, whether it was that the ſpirit of intrigue and dominion ſeized them, or, which is more probable, that no conduct whatever

whatever could prevent the Japaneſe from harbouring ſuſpicions, they were deprived of the liberty and the privileges they enjoyed.

Ever ſince the year 1641, they have been confined to the artificial iſland of Diſnia, raiſed in the harbour of Nangaſaque, and which has a communication with the city bridge. As ſoon as they arrive, their ſhips are ſtripped, and their powder, muſkets, ſwords, guns, and even rudder, carried aſhore. In this kind of impriſonment they are treated with a degree of contempt which is beyond conception; and can tranſact no buſineſs but with commiſſaries appointed to regulate the price and the quantity of their merchandiſe. It is impoſſible that the tameneſs with which they have endured this treatment more than a century, ſhould not have leſſened them in the eyes of the nation who is witneſs of it; and that the love of gain ſhould have produced ſuch an extreme inſenſibility to inſults, without tarniſhing their character.

The chief commodities which the Dutch carry to Japan are European cloths, ſilks, ſpices, printed linens, ſugar, and wood for dying. Theſe articles were formerly of conſiderable importance. In the very year of the company's diſgrace, its returns amounted to ſixteen millions *: but the ſhackles, which from time to time have been impoſed upon it, have gradually reduced their once flouriſhing trade to nothing. The cargo of the two veſſels they ſend annually, cannot be ſold for more than a million †. They receive in payment eleven thouſand cheſts of copper, at forty-one livres four ſols ‡ per

* 700,000l. † 43,750l. ‡ 1l. 16s. 0d. ½.

cheſt,

cheſt, which weighs one hundred and twenty pounds. Their expences, including preſents and the charge of the embaſſy they ſend every year to the emperor, generally amount to two hundred and eighty thouſand livres *, and their profits do not exceed three hundred and ten thouſand †; ſo that if the company gains forty thouſand livres ‡, it is reckoned a good year.

THE trade of the Chineſe, who, except the Hollanders, are the only foreigners admitted into the empire, is not more extenſive than theirs, and ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions. Ever ſince the year 1688 they are confined during the continuance of the ſale of their goods, without the walls of Nangaſaque, in a kind of priſon, which is divided into ſeveral huts, ſurrounded with a paliſade, and defended by a good ditch, and a guard placed at all the gates. Theſe precautions have been taken in conſequence of a diſcovery that ſome works, in favour of chriſtianity, had been ſold together with ſome books of philoſophy and morality. The European miſſionaries had ordered ſome people of Canton to circulate them, and the deſire of gain betrayed them into a piece of chicanery, which has coſt them very dear.

IT is natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have changed the ancient government of the country into the moſt arbitrary tyranny upon earth, would look upon all intercourſe with ſtrangers as dangerous to their authority. There is the more reaſon for this conjecture, as the inhabitants are all

* 12,250l. † About 131,687l. ‡ 1,750l.

forbidden,

forbidden, on pain of death, to go out of their country. This rigorous edict is become the fundamental maxim of the empire.

THUS the inhuman policy of the ſtate has deprived it of the only means of acquiring a milder temper, by ſoftening the national character. The Japaneſe, fiery as his climate, and reſtleſs as the ocean that ſurrounds him, required that the utmoſt ſcope ſhould be given to his activity, which could only be done by encouraging a briſk trade. To prevent the neceſſity of reſtraining him by puniſhments, it was neceſſary to keep him in exerciſe by conſtant labour; and to allow his vivacity an uninterrupted career abroad, when it was in danger of kindling the flame of ſedition at home. That energy of mind which has degenerated into fanaticiſm, would have been improved into induſtry; contemplation would have changed into action; and the fear of puniſhment into the love of pleaſure. That hatred of life, which torments the Japaneſe, while he is enſlaved, oppreſſed and kept in continual fears by the rigour of the laws, againſt which he is perpetually ſtruggling, would have given way to the ſpirit of curioſity, that would have induced him to traverſe the ocean, and viſit foreign nations. By a frequent change of place and climate, he would inſenſibly have changed his manners, opinions, and character; and this change would have been as happy for him as it is for the generality of people. What he might chance to loſe by this intercourſe as a citizen, he would gain as a man; but the Japaneſe are become tygers, through the cruelty of their tyrants.

WHATEVER

WHATEVER may be ſaid in praiſe of the Spartans, the Egyptians, and other diſtinct nations, who have owed their ſuperior ſtrength, grandeur, and permanency to the ſtate of ſeparation in which they kept themſelves; mankind has received no benefit from theſe ſingular inſtitutions. On the contrary, the ſpirit of intercourſe is uſeful to all nations, as it promotes a mutual communication of their productions and knowledge. In a word, if it were uſeleſs or pernicious to ſome particular people, it was neceſſary for the Japaneſe. By commerce they would have become enlightened in China, civilized in India, and cured of all their prejudices among the Europeans.

The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch.

THE Dutch had the good fortune to meet with reſources which indemnified them for the loſs they had ſuſtained at Japan. They had not yet entered into commerce with theſe, the moſt remarkable iſlands in the torrid zone, when they attempted to ſecure to themſelves the trade of the Moluccas. The Portugueſe, who had long been in poſſeſſion of them, were obliged to ſhare their advantages with their maſters the Spaniards; and, at length, to give up the trade almoſt entirely to them. The two nations, divided in their intereſts, and perpetually at war with each other, becauſe the government had neither leiſure nor ſkill to remove their mutual antipathy, joined to oppoſe the ſubjects of the United Provinces. The latter, aſſiſted by the natives of the country, who had not yet learned to fear or hate them, by degrees gained the ſuperiority. The antient conquerors were driven out about the year 1627; and their place was ſupplied by others

equally

equally avaritious, though leſs turbulent, and more enlightened.

As ſoon as the Dutch had eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly at the Moluccas, they endeavoured to get the excluſive trade of ſpices into their own hands: an advantage, which the nation they had juſt expelled was never able to procure. They ſkilfully availed themſelves both of the forts they had taken ſword in hand, and thoſe they had imprudently been ſuffered to erect, to draw the kings of Ternate and Tidor, who were maſters of this Archipelago, into their ſcheme. Theſe princes found themſelves obliged to conſent, that the clove and nutmeg trees ſhould be rooted up in the iſlands that were ſtill under their dominion. The firſt of theſe ſceptered ſlaves, in conſideration of this great ſacrifice, received a penſion of 64,500 livres*; and the other, one of about 12,000†. A garriſon of ſeven hundred men was appointed to ſecure the performance of this treaty: and to ſo low an ebb is the power of theſe kings reduced by war, tyranny, and misfortunes, that theſe forces would be more than ſufficient to keep them in this ſtate of dependence, if it were not neceſſary to have an eye upon the Philippine iſlands, whoſe vicinity conſtantly occaſions ſome alarm. Notwithſtanding the inhabitants are prohibited from carrying on any navigation, and that no foreign nation is admitted among them, the Dutch trade there is in a languiſhing ſtate; as they have no means of exchange, nor any ſilver but what they carry over to pay their troops, their commiſ-

* About 2,825l. † 525l.

ſioners

ſioners and penſions. This government, deducting the ſmall profits, coſts the company 140,000 livres * a year.

THIS loſs is fully compenſated at Amboyna, where they have engroſſed the cultivation of cloves. The tree that produces them is, as to its bark, very much like the olive-tree, and reſembles the laurel in its height, and the ſhape of its leaves. It produces at the extremity of its numerous branches, a prodigious quantity of flowers, which are white at firſt, then green, and at laſt grow red and pretty hard. When they arrive at this degree of maturity, they are, properly ſpeaking, cloves. As it dries, the clove aſſumes a dark yellowiſh caſt; when gathered, it becomes of a deep brown. No verdure is ever ſeen under this plant, which is doubtleſs owing to its exhauſting all the nutritious juices of the ſoil that produces it.

THE ſeaſon for gathering the cloves is from October to February. The boughs of the tree are ſtrongly ſhaken, or the cloves beat down with long reeds. Large cloths are ſpread to receive them, and they are afterwards either dried in the ſun, or in the ſmoke of the bamboo cane.

THE cloves which eſcape the notice of thoſe who gather them, or are purpoſely left upon the tree, continue to grow till they are about an inch in thickneſs; and theſe falling off, produce new plants, which do not bear in leſs than eight or nine years. Theſe cloves which they call mother-cloves, though inferior to the common ſort, are not with-

* 6,125l.

our

out their value. The Dutch preſerve them in ſugar, and, in long voyages, eat them after meals to promote digeſtion; or make uſe of them as an agreeable remedy for the ſcurvy.

THE clove, to be in perfection, muſt be full ſized, heavy, oily, and eaſily broken; of a fine ſmell, and a hot aromatic taſte, ſo as almoſt to burn the throat; it ſhould make the fingers ſmart when handled, and leave an oily moiſture upon them when preſſed. The principal uſe of it is for culinary purpoſes. In ſome parts of Europe, and in India in particular, it is ſo much admired as to be thought an indiſpenſible ingredient in almoſt every diſh. It is put into their food, liquors, wines, and enters likewiſe into the compoſition of perfumes. It is little uſed in medicine; but there is an oil extracted from it which is in conſiderable repute.

THE company have allotted the inhabitants of Amboyna four thouſand parcels of land, on each of which they were at firſt allowed, and about the year 1720 compelled, to plant a hundred and twenty-five trees, amounting in the whole to five hundred thouſand. Each of theſe parcels produces annually, on an average, upwards of two pounds of cloves: and conſequently the collective produce muſt weigh more than a million.

THE cultivator is paid with the ſpecie that is conſtantly returned to the company, and receives ſome blue and unbleached cottons which are brought from Coromandel. This ſmall trade might, in ſome meaſure, be increaſed, if the inhabitants of Amboyna, and the ſmall iſlands that de-

pend upon it, would have attended to the culture of pepper and indigo, which has been tried with ſucceſs. Miſerable as theſe iſlanders are, ſince they are not tempted by an adequate reward for their labours, they remain in a ſtate of indolence.

THE adminiſtration is ſomewhat different in the iſlands of Banda, which are thirty leagues diſtant from Amboyna. There are five of theſe iſlands, two of which are uncultivated and almoſt uninhabited; and the other three claim the diſtinction of being the only iſlands in the world that produce the nutmeg.

THE nutmeg grows to the ſame height as the pear-tree. It has a pithy wood, an aſh-coloured bark, and flexible branches. The leaves are produced in pairs upon one ſingle ſtem, and when bruiſed, emit an agreeable odour. The fruit ſucceeds the flowers, which reſemble thoſe of the cherry-tree. It is of the ſize of an egg, and of the colour of an apricot. The outer rind is very thick, and reſembles that of our nuts as they hang upon the tree, opening in the ſame manner when ripe, and diſcovering the nutmeg covered with its mace. It is then time to gather it, to prevent the mace or flower of the nutmeg from growing dry, and the nutmeg from loſing that oil which preſerves it, and in which its excellence conſiſts. Thoſe that are gathered before they are perfectly ripe are preſerved in vinegar or ſugar, and are admired only in Aſia.

IT is nine months before this fruit comes to perfection. After it is gathered, the outer rind is ſtripped off, and the mace ſeparated from it, and laid in the ſun to dry. The nuts require more preparation.

preparation. They are ſpread upon hurdles, or dried for ſix weeks by a ſlow fire, in ſheds erected for that purpoſe. They are then ſeparated from the ſhell, and thrown into lime-water, which is a neceſſary precaution to preſerve them from worms.

The nutmeg differs in goodneſs according to the age of the tree, the ſoil, the expoſition, and method of culture. It is moſt eſteemed when it is freſh, moiſt, and heavy, and when it yields an oily juice upon being pricked. It helps digeſtion, expels wind, and ſtrengthens the bowels.

If we except this valuable ſpice, the iſlands of Banda, like all the Moluccas, are barren to a dreadful degree. What they produce in ſuperfluities they want in neceſſaries. The land will not bring forth any kind of corn: and the pith of the ſago ſerves the natives of the country inſtead of bread.

As this food is not ſufficient for the Europeans who ſettle in the Moluccas, they are allowed to fetch proviſions from Java, Macaſſar, or the extremely fertile iſland of Bali. The company itſelf carries ſome merchandiſe to Banda.

This is the only ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies that can be conſidered as an European colony; becauſe it is the only one where the Europeans are proprietors of lands. The company finding that the inhabitants of Banda were ſavage, cruel, and treacherous, becauſe they were impatient under their yoke, reſolved to exterminate them. Their poſſeſſions were divided among the white people, who got ſlaves from ſome of the neighbouring iſlands to cultivate the lands. Theſe white people are for

the moſt part Creoles or malecontents, who have quitted the ſervice of the company. In the ſmall iſle of Roſinging, there are likewiſe ſeveral banditti, whom the laws have branded with diſgrace, and young men of abandoned principles, whoſe families wanted to get rid of them: ſo that Banda is called the *iſland of correction*. The climate is ſo unhealthy, that theſe unhappy men live but a ſhort time. It is on account of the loſs of ſo great a number of hands, that attempts have been made to transfer the culture of the nutmeg to Amboyna; and the company were likewiſe probably influenced by two other ſtrong motives of Intereſt, as their trade could be carried on with leſs expence and greater ſafety. But the experiments that have been made have proved unſucceſsful, and matters remain in their former ſtate.

To ſecure to themſelves an excluſive title to the produce of the Moluccas, which are, with good reaſon, ſtiled the *gold mines* of the company, the Dutch have been under a neceſſity of forming two ſettlements, one at Timor, and the other at Celebes.

The Dutch form a ſettlement at Timor.

The firſt of theſe iſlands is ſixty leagues long, and fifteen or eighteen broad. It is divided into ſeveral ſovereignties; in which there are numbers of Portugueſe. Theſe conquerors, who at their firſt arrival in India had advanced with the utmoſt intrepidity and moſt amazing celerity, and had purſued a long and dangerous career with a rapidity which nothing could ſtop; who were ſo well accuſtomed to acts of heroiſm, that they performed the moſt arduous enterpriſes with eaſe; theſe conquerors, I ſay, when they were attacked by the Dutch, when their whole empire,

empire, grown too large and tottering under its own weight, was ready to fall, diſplayed none of thoſe virtues, which had laid the foundation of their power. When they were diſpoſſeſſed of a fort, driven out of a kingdom, diſperſed in conſequence of a defeat, they ſhould have ſought an aſylum among their brethren, and ſhould have rallied under ſtandards that had hitherto been invincible; either to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the enemy, or to recover their ſettlements: but ſo far were they from forming a reſolution ſo generous, that they ſolicited ſome employment, or ſome penſion, from thoſe very Indian princes they had ſo often inſulted. Thoſe who had contracted a habit of effeminacy, and idleneſs above the reſt, retreated to Timor, which, being a poor iſland, where no works of induſtry were carried on, would ſkreen them they thought from the purſuit of an enemy intent upon uſeful conqueſts. They were, however, deceived. In the year 1613 they were driven from the town of Kupan by the Dutch, who found a fort there, which they have ever ſince garriſoned with fifty men. The company ſends ſome coarſe linens thither every year, and receives in return wax, tortoiſe-ſhell, ſanders wood, and cadiang, a ſmall ſpecies of bean, commonly uſed by the Dutch on ſhip-board, by way of variety of food for the crew. All theſe objects employ one or two ſloops, which are diſpatched from Batavia: nothing is either gained or loſt by this ſettlement; the profits juſt anſwer the expences. The Dutch would have abandoned Timor long ago, if they had not been apprehenſive that ſome active nation might

fix there and avail themſelves of the opportunities that ſituation would give them to diſturb the trade of the Moluccas. It was the ſame cautious principle which drew them to Celebes.

The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes.

THIS iſland, which is about a hundred and thirty leagues in diameter, is very habitable, though it lies in the center of the torrid zone. The heats are allayed by the copious rains, and cooling breezes. The inhabitants are the braveſt people in the ſouth of Aſia; they make a furious onſet, but, after a conteſt of two hours, a total want of courage takes place of this ſtrange impetuoſity: the intoxicating fumes of opium, which are doubtleſs the cauſe of this terrible ferment, go off, when their ſtrength is exhauſted by tranſports that approach to madneſs. The *crid*, which is their favourite weapon, is a foot and a half long; it is ſhaped like a poniard, and the blade is ſerpentine. They never carry more than one to battle; but in private quarrels two are neceſſary; they parry with that in the left hand, and attack the adverſary with the other. The wounds made by this weapon are very dangerous, and the duel moſt commonly ends in the death of both the combatants.

THE inhabitants of Celebes are rendered active, induſtrious, and robuſt, by a rigid education. Every hour in the day their nurſes rub them with oil, or water juſt warm. Theſe repeated unctions encourage nature to exert herſelf freely. They are weaned at a year old, an idea prevailing, that if they continued to ſuck any longer, it would hurt their underſtandings. When they are five or ſix years

years old, the male children of any diſtinction are intruſted to the care of ſome relation or friend, that their courage may not be weakened by the careſſes of their mothers, and a habit of reciprocal tenderneſs. They do not return to their families till they arrive at the age of fifteen or ſixteen, when the law allows them to marry: a liberty they ſeldom make uſe of, before they are thoroughly verſed in the exerciſe of arms.

FORMERLY theſe people acknowledged no other gods but the ſun and the moon. They ſacrificed to them in the public ſquares, having no materials which they thought valuable enough to be employed in raiſing temples. According to the creed of theſe iſlanders, the ſun and moon were eternal as well as the heavens, whoſe empire they divided between them. Ambition ſet them at variance. The moon, flying from the ſun, miſcarried, and was delivered of the earth; ſhe was big with ſeveral other worlds which ſhe will ſucceſſively bring forth, but without violence, in order to repair the loſs of thoſe whom the fire of her conqueror will conſume.

THESE abſurdities were univerſally received at Celebes; but they had not ſo laſting an influence over either the nobles or the people as is found in the religious doctrines of other nations. About two centuries ago, ſome Chriſtians and Mohammedans having brought their opinions hither, the principal king of the country took a total diſlike to the national worſhip. Alarmed at the terrible cataſtrophe, with which he was equally threatened by both the new ſyſtems of religion, he convened a general aſſembly. On the day appointed he

aſcended an eminence; where ſpreading out his hands towards heaven, and, in a ſtanding poſture, he addreſſed the following prayer to the Supreme Being.

"GREAT God, I do not, at this time, fall "down before thee, becauſe I do not implore "thy clemency. I have nothing to aſk of thee "which thou oughteſt not in juſtice to grant. "Two foreign nations whoſe mode of worſhip is "widely different, are come to ſtrike terror into "me, and my ſubjects. They aſſure me that "thou wilt puniſh me eternally if I do not obey "thy laws: I have therefore a right to require "that thou wouldeſt make them known to me. "I do not aſk thee to reveal the impenetrable "myſteries which ſurrounded thy eſſence, and "which to me are uſeleſs. I am come hither to "inquire, together with my people, what thoſe "duties are which thou intendeſt to preſcribe "to us. Speak, O my God; ſince thou art "the Author of nature, thou canſt diſcern the "bottom of our hearts, and knoweſt that it is "impoſſible they ſhould entertain any thoughts "of diſobedience. But if thou condeſcendeſt "not to make thyſelf underſtood by mortals; if "it is unworthy of thine eſſence to employ the "language of man to dictate the duties re-"quired of man; I call my whole nation, the ſun "which enlightens me, the earth that ſupports "me, the waters that encompaſs my dominions, "and thyſelf to witneſs, that in the ſincerity of "my heart I ſeek to know thy will: and I de-"clare to thee this day, that I ſhall acknow-

 "ledge,

"ledge, as the depoſitaries of the oracles, the mi-
"niſters of either religion whom thou ſhalt cauſe
"to arrive the firſt in our harbours. The winds
"and the waves are the miniſters of thy power;
"let them be the ſignals of thy will. If, with
"theſe honeſt intentions, I embrace an error, my
"conſcience will be at eaſe; and the blame will
"lie upon thee."

THE aſſembly broke up, determined to wait the orders of heaven, and to follow the firſt miſſionaries that ſhould arrive at Celebes. The apoſtles of the coran were the moſt active, and the ſovereign and his people were circumciſed: the other parts of the iſland ſoon followed their example.

THIS unfortunate circumſtance did not hinder the Portugueſe from gaining a footing at Celebes. They maintained their ground there, even after they were driven out of the Moluccas. The motive which induced them to ſtay, and which attracted the Engliſh to this place, was, the facility of procuring ſpices, which the natives of the country found means to get, notwithſtanding the precautious that were taken to keep them at a diſtance from the places where they grew.

THE Dutch, who by this competition were prevented from monopolizing the articles of cloves and nutmegs, attempted in 1660, to put a ſtop to this trade, which they called contraband. To favour this deſign, they had recourſe to means repugnant to all principles of morality, but which an inſatiable avarice had familiarized in Aſia. By perſevering

in

in theſe infamous proceedings, they ſucceeded ſo far as to drive out the Portugueſe, keep off the Engliſh, and to take poſſeſſion of the harbour and fort of Macaſſar. From that time they were abſolute maſters of the iſland without having conquered it. The princes among whom it was divided, reunited in a kind of confederacy. They hold aſſemblies, from time to time, on affairs that concern the general intereſt. The reſult of their determinations becomes a law to each ſtate. When any conteſt ariſes, it is decided by the governor of the Dutch colony, who preſides at this diet. He obſerves theſe different ſovereigns with a watchful eye, and keeps them in perfect equality with each other, to prevent any of them from aggrandizing himſelf to the prejudice of the company. They have diſarmed them all, under pretence of hindering them from injuring each other; but in reality with a view of depriving them of the power of breaking their chains.

The Chineſe, who are the only foreigners permitted to come to Celebes, carry thither tobacco, gold wire, china and unwrought ſilks. The Dutch ſell opium, ſpirituous liquors, gum lac, fine and coarſe linens. They get but little gold from thence, but great quantities of rice, wax, ſlaves, and tripam, a ſpecies of muſhroom, which the rounder and blacker it is, the more excellent it is eſteemed. The cuſtoms bring in 80,000 livres * to the company: but it receives a much larger profit from its trade, and the tenth part of the ter-

* 3,500l.

ritory

ritory which it holds in full right of ſovereignty. Theſe advantages, however, taken altogether, do not counterbalance the expences of the colony, which ariſe to 150,000 livres * more. It would certainly be given up, if it were not with good reaſon looked upon as the key of the ſpice iſlands.

The Dutch open a communication with Borneo.

THE ſettlement at Borneo was formed with a leſs intereſting view. It is one of the largeſt, if not actually the largeſt iſland hitherto known. The ancient inhabitants live in the inland parts. The coaſts are peopled with inhabitants from Macaſſar, with Javaneſe, Malayans, and Arabs, who, to the vices that are natural to them, have added a ferocity hardly to be met with elſewhere. The moſt uſeful production of this large country is camphire, which is a volatile, ſubtile oil, or reſinous ſubſtance. The tree from which it is produced, grows in ſeveral of the Aſiatic iſlands; and it has lately been diſcovered that this ſingular ſubſtance may be obtained in a greater or leſs quantity from all the trees that are of the laurel tribe.

To procure this camphire, the tree is cut into ſmall pieces, like matches, which are put into a veſſel ſhaped like a bladder: they are boiled in water, and the camphire forms a glutinous maſs at the top. The Dutch are the only people in Europe who poſſeſs the ſecret of refining it in the groſs.

* About 6,562l.

THE

THE camphire from Borneo is unqueſtionably the beſt of any. Its ſuperior excellence is ſo well known, that the Japaneſe give five or ſix quintals of their own for one pound of that from Borneo; and the Chineſe, who look upon it as the beſt medicine in the world, give us no leſs than eight hundred livres* a pound for it. The Pagans in all the eaſtern countries uſe common camphire in their fireworks, and the Mohammedans put it into the mouth of the dead at the time of burial.

ABOUT the year 1526 the Portugueſe attempted to ſettle at Borneo. Too feeble to make their arms reſpected, they tried to gain the good-will of one of the ſovereigns of the country by offering him ſome pieces of tapeſtry. This weak prince took the figures wrought in it for inchanted men, who would ſtrangle him in the night-time, if he ſuffered them to come near his perſon. The explanations they gave to remove his apprehenſions had no effect; he obſtinately refuſed to let the preſent be brought into his palace, and prohibited the donors from entering his capital.

HOWEVER, theſe adventurers afterwards gained admiſſion; but it proved their misfortune, for they were all maſſacred. A factory which the Engliſh eſtabliſhed ſome years after ſhared the ſame fate. The Dutch, who had met with no better treatment, appeared again, in the year 1748, with a ſquadron, which, though very inconſiderable, ſo far impoſed upon the prince, who has the pepper entirely in his hands, that he determined to grant

* 15l.

them

them the privilege of trading for it excluſively: with this ſingle reſerve, that he ſhould be allowed to deliver five hundred thouſand pounds of this article to the Chineſe, who had always frequented his ports. Since this treaty, the company ſends rice, opium, ſalt, and coarſe linens to Bendermaſſen, from whence they bring ſome diamonds, and about ſix hundred thouſand weight of pepper, at one and thirty livres * a hundred weight. The profits ariſing from the goods they export are ſcarce ſufficient to anſwer the expences of the colony, though they amount to no more than 32,000 livres †. Sumatra proves of greater advantage to them.

Settlements of the Dutch at Sumatra.

THOUGH this iſland, before the arrival of the Europeans in India, was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, Achen was the center of all trade. Its harbour was frequented by all the Aſiatic ſtates, and afterwards by the Portugueſe and other nations, who raiſed themſelves upon their ruins. Here all the productions of the eaſt were bartered for gold, pepper, and other articles of merchandiſe with which this more opulent than healthy climate abounded. The diſturbances which threw this famous emporium into confuſion, put a ſtop to all induſtry, and drove the foreign merchants away.

WHEN this declenſion happened, the Dutch formed the project of making ſettlements in other parts of the iſland, which enjoyed more tranquility. Thoſe that were allowed to fix in the empire of Indrapore are much reduced, ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves on the ſame coaſt. The factory

* 1l. 7s. 0d. ½ † 1,400l.

of

of Iambay is ſtill of leſs uſe, as the neighbouring kings have ſtript the prince of this diſtrict of his poſſeſſions. The company makes itſelf amends for theſe misfortunes at Palinban, where, for ſixty thouſand livres*, it maintains a fort, a garriſon of eighty men, and two or three ſloops, which keep continually cruiſing. It purchaſes annually two million weight of pepper, at one and twenty livres† a hundred, and a million and a half of calin at fifty-ſeven livres ten ſols‡ a hundred. This, though it ſeems to be a moderate price, is of advantage to the king, who buys it from his ſubjects at a ſtill lower rate. Though he takes ſome part of the proviſion and cloathing for his ſtates from the merchants at Batavia, they are obliged to ſettle accounts with him in piaſtres. The treaſures he has amaſſed of the ſilver and of the gold found in his rivers, are known to be immenſe. A ſingle European veſſel might take poſſeſſion of all theſe riches; and, with ſome troops for landing, maintain a poſt, which would be won without difficulty. It ſeems very extraordinary, that avarice ſhould never have prompted any adventurer to undertake ſo lucrative and eaſy an enterpriſe.

CIVILIZED nations, who, to make themſelves maſters of the univerſe, have trampled upon all the rights, and ſtifled all the dictates of nature, will ſcarcely ſhrink at one additional act of injuſtice or cruelty. There is not a nation in Europe which does not think it has a juſt right to ſeize the treaſures of the eaſt. Setting aſide religion, which it is no longer faſhionable to plead, ſince its

* 2,625l. † 18s. 4d. ‡ 2l. 10s. 3d.

very

very miniſters have brought it into diſrepute, by their unbounded avarice and ambition, how many pretences are ſtill remaining to juſtify the rage of invaſion! They who live under a monarchy are deſirous of extending the glory and empire of their maſter beyond the ſeas. Theſe happy people are ready to venture their lives in the extreme parts of the globe, to increaſe the number of fortunate ſubjects, who live under the laws of the beſt of princes. A free nation, which is its own maſter, is born to command the ocean; it cannot ſecure the dominion of the ſea, without ſeizing upon the land, which belongs to the firſt poſſeſſor; that is, to him who is able to drive out the ancient inhabitants; they are to be enſlaved by force or fraud, and exterminated in order to get their poſſeſſions. Moreover, the intereſts of commerce, the national debt, and the majeſty of the people, require it. Republicans, who have happily ſhaken off the yoke of foreign tyranny, muſt impoſe it on others in their turn. If they have broken their chains, it is to forge new ones. They deteſt monarchy, but they are in want of ſlaves. They have no lands of their own: why ſhould they not ſeize upon thoſe of others?

Trade of the Dutch at Siam.

THE trade of the Dutch at Siam was at firſt very conſiderable. A tyrannic prince, who oppreſſed this unhappy country, having, about the year 1660, ſhewn a want of reſpect to the company, it puniſhed him by abandoning the factories it had eſtabliſhed in his dominions, as if it would have been a favour to have continued them. Theſe republicans, who affected

fected an air of grandeur, chose at that time to have their presence looked upon as a favour, a security, and an honour: and they inculcated this singular prejudice with so much success, that in order to engage them to return, a pompous embassy was sent, asking pardon for what had past, and giving the strogest assurances of a different conduct for the future.

There was a time, however, when this deference was to cease, and it was hastened by the naval enterprises of other powers. The affairs of the company at Siam have always been in a declining state. Having no fort, it has never been in a condition to keep up the exclusive privilege. The king, notwithstanding the presents he requires, sells merchandise to traders of all nations, and takes goods from them on advantageous terms: with this difference only, that they are obliged to stop at the mouth of the Menan, whereas the Dutch go up the river as far as the capital of the empire, where their agent constantly resides. Their trade derives no great activity from this privilege. They send only one vessel which transports Javanese horses, and is freighted with sugar, spices and linens; for which they receive in return calin, at 70 livres* a hundred weight; gum lac, at 52†, some elephants teeth, at five livres six sols‡ a pound; and a small quantity of gold, at 175 livres 10 sols§ a mark. One may venture to assert, that their connections here are kept up merely on account of the sappan wood, which is necessary for the stowing of their ships:

* 3l. 12s. 3d. † 2l. 5s. 6d. ‡ 4s. 7d. ½ §. 7l. 18s. 2d. ½

and for which they give no leſs than five livres * per hundred weight. Were it not for this want, they would long ago have given up a trade where the expence exceeds the profits; becauſe the king, who is the only merchant in his dominions, ſets a very low price upon the commodities that are imported. A more intereſting object turned the ambitious views of the Dutch towards Malacca.

Situation of the Dutch at Malacca.

THESE republicans, who knew the importance of this place, uſed their utmoſt efforts to make themſelves maſters of it. Having miſcarried in two attempts, they had recourſe at laſt, if we may believe a ſatirical writer, to an expedient which a virtuous people will never employ; but which frequently anſwers the purpoſe of a degenerate nation. They endeavoured to bribe the Portugueſe governor, whom they knew to be covetous. The bargain was ſtruck, and he introduced the enemy into the city in 1641. The beſiegers haſtened to his houſe and maſſacred him, to ſave the payment of the 500,000 livres † they had promiſed him. But truth obliges us to declare, for the honour of the Portugueſe, that they did not ſurrender till after a moſt obſtinate defence. The commander of the victorious party aſked the commander of the other, in a boaſting ſtrain which is not natural to his nation, when he would come back again to the place? *When your crimes are greater than ours,* replied the Portugueſe gravely.

THE conquerors found a fort, which, like all the works of the Portugueſe, was built with a de-

* 4l. 4d. ½ † 21,875l.

gree of ſtrength that has never ſince been imitated by any nation. They found the climate very healthy, though hot and damp: but the trade there was entirely decayed; the continual exactions having deterred all nations from reſorting thither. It has not been revived by the company, either on account of ſomi nſuperable difficulties, or the want of moderation, or the fear of injuring Batavia. The buſineſs is confined at preſent to the ſale of a ſmall quantity of opium, and a few blue linens, and to the purchaſe of elephants teeth, calin, which coſts 70 livres * per hundred weight, and a ſmall quantity of gold, at 180 livres † a mark. Their affairs would be carried on with more ſpirit and to a greater amount, if the princes adhered more faithfully to the excluſive treaty ſubſiſting between them. Unfortunately for their intereſts, they have formed connections with the Engliſh, who furniſh them with the commodities they want at a cheaper rate, and give a greater price for their merchandiſe. Their farms and cuſtoms make them ſome little amends, bringing in 200,000 livres ‡ a year. Theſe revenues, however, and the advantages of commerce taken together, are not ſufficient to maintain the garriſon and people employed; which coſts the company 40,000 livres §.

THIS might for a long time appear to be a ſmall ſacrifice. Before the Europeans doubled the cape of Good Hope, the Moors, who were the only maritime people in India, ſailed from Su-

* 3l. 1s. 3d. † 7l. 17s. 6d. ‡ 8,750. § 1,750l.

rat

ſat and Bengal, to Malacca, where they found ſhips from the Molucca iſlands, Japan, and China. When the Portugueſe became maſters of this place, they went themſelves to Bantam for pepper, and to Ternate for ſpices. To make their return the ſhorter, they attempted a paſſage by the Sunda iſlands, and ſucceeded. The Dutch, who had got poſſeſſion of Malacca and Batavia, were maſters of the two only ſtraits that were then known. They cruiſed there in times of war, and intercepted the enemy's veſſels. This ſituation has ceaſed to be reſpectable, ſince the ſtrait of Bali was diſcovered by the French at the end of the war in 1744, and that of Lomboc by the Engliſh in the laſt war. Batavia will always continue to be the ſtaple of an immenſe trade; but Malacca loſes the only advantage that gave it any importance.

Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon.

THOUGH the company did not foreſee this event, yet at the ſame time that they were enlarging and ſtrengthening their power in the eaſtern parts of Aſia, they formed the project of ſecuring to themſelves that part of India, where the Portugueſe continued to counteract their operations, and of taking from them the iſland of Ceylon. It is obſervable that this nation, ſo diſtinguiſhed for the juſtneſs of its commercial views, endeavoured to get thoſe productions into its hands, which were either abſolutely neceſſary or nearly ſo, before it turned its attention to articles of luxury. It owes its grandeur in Aſia to the ſpice trade, and in Europe to the herring fiſhery. The Moluccas ſupply

it with nutmegs and cloves; and Ceylon furniſhes it with cinnamon.

SPILBERG, the firſt of their admirals who had the courage to diſplay his colours on the coaſt of this delicious iſland, found the Portugueſe employed in ſubverting the government and the religion of the country; in exciting the ſovereigns, among whom it was divided, to deſtroy each other; and in raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of the ſtates that were thus ſucceſſively demoliſhed. He offered the court of Candy the aſſiſtance of his country, which was joyfully accepted. *You may aſſure your maſters*, ſaid the monarch, *that if they will build a fort, myſelf, my wife, and children will be foremoſt in bringing the neceſſary materials.*

THE people of Ceylon looked upon the Dutch in no other light than as the enemies of their oppreſſors, and joined them. By their united forces, the Portugueſe were, in the year 1658, entirely diſpoſſeſſed, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate war. All their ſettlements fell into the hands of the company, who ſtill keep poſſeſſion of them, excepting a ſmall diſtrict on the eaſtern coaſt, without any port, from whence the ſovereign of the country had his ſalt; theſe ſettlements formed a regular ſtring, extending from two to twelve leagues into the inland parts of the iſland.

THE fort of Jaffranapatam, as well as thoſe erected on the iſlands of Manar and Calpentine, were deſtined to prevent all correſpondence with the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent. At Negombo, deſigned to comprehend the diſtrict in which

which the beſt cinnamon is produced, there is a harbour large enough to admit ſloops: but it is not frequented, on account of a navigable river that leads from it to Columbo. This place, which the Portugueſe had fortified with the greateſt care, as the center of opulence, is become the principal ſtation in the colony. It is not improbable, that, independent of the ſums which had been expended upon it, the badneſs of its road might have determined the Dutch to fix the ſtrength of their government at the promontory of Galla, where there is a harbour; which, though the entrance is indeed difficult, and the baſon very confined, has every other advantage that can be wiſhed. It is here that the company take in their cargoes for Europe.

MATARAN is the magazine for coffee and pepper, the culture of which has been introduced by the company. It has no other fortification than a redoubt built upon a river that is only navigable for boats. Trinquimale is the fineſt and beſt harbour in India. It is compoſed of ſeveral bays, where the moſt numerous fleets may anchor in ſecurity. No trade is carried on there. The country furniſhes no one article of merchandiſe; and even proviſions are very ſcarce: in ſhort, it is protected by its barrenneſs. Other ſettlements of inferior note that are ſcattered upon the coaſt, ſerve to make the communication eaſy, and to keep off ſtrangers.

BY theſe wiſe precautions, the company have appropriated all the productions of the iſland. The ſeveral articles which conſtitute ſo many branches of trade are; 1. Amethyſts, ſapphires, topazes,

and rubies which are very ſmall, and very indifferent. The Moors, who come from the coaſt of Coromandel, buy them, paying a moderate tax; and, when they are cut, ſell them at a low price in the different countries of India.

2. PEPPER, which the company buy for eight ſols * a pound; coffee, for which they only pay four †; and cardamom, which has no fixed price. The natives of the country are ſo indolent, that theſe productions, which are all of an inferior quality, will never turn to any great advantage.

3. A HUNDRED bales of handkerchiefs, pagnes and ginghams, of a fine red colour, which are fabricated by the Malabars at Jafranapatan, where they have long been ſettled.

4. A SMALL quantity of ivory, and about fifty elephants, which are carried to the coaſt of Coromandel. Thus this gentle and peaceful animal, which is too uſeful to mankind to be ſuffered to remain upon an iſland, is tranſported to the continent, to aggravate and bear a part in the dangers and horrors of war.

5. ARECA, which the company buys at the rate of ten livres ‡ the ammonan, and ſells upon the ſpot at thirty-ſix or forty livres § to the merchants of Bengal, Coromandel, and the Maldives; who give in return rice, coarſe linens, and cowries. The areca, which grows upon a ſpecies of palm-tree, is a fruit not uncommon in moſt parts of Aſia, and is in great plenty at Ceylon. It is oval, and would not be much unlike the date, if its extremities

* About 4d. † About 2d. ‡ 8s. 9d. § About 1l. 13s.

were

were leſs pointed. The bark is thick, ſmooth, and membranaceous, and covers a kernel of a whitiſh caſt, ſhaped like a pear, and of the bigneſs of a nutmeg. When eaten by itſelf, as it ſometimes is by the Indians, it impoveriſhes the blood, and cauſes the jaundice. It is not attended with theſe inconveniencies when mixed with betel.

THE betel is a creeping and climbing plant like the ivy, but does no injury to the agoti, which it embraces as its ſupport, and is remarkably fond of. It is cultivated in the ſame manner as the vine. Its leaves a good deal reſemble thoſe of the citron, though they are longer and narrower at the extremity. The betel grows in all parts of India, but flouriſhes beſt in moiſt places.

AT all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterneſs of which is corrected by the areca that is wrapped up in them. There is conſtantly mixed with it the chinam, a kind of burnt lime made of ſhells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their vanity or their ſenſuality.

IT would be thought a breach of politeneſs among the Indians to take leave for any long time, without preſenting each other with a purſe of betel. It is a pledge of friendſhip that relieves the pain of abſence. No one dares to ſpeak to a ſuperior unleſs his mouth is perfumed with betel; it would even be rude to neglect this precaution with an equal. The women of gallantry are the moſt laviſh in the uſe of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; it is chewed during a

viſit; it is offered when you meet, and when you ſeparate; in ſhort, nothing is to be done without betel. If it is prejudicial to the teeth, it aſſiſts and ſtrengthens the ſtomach. At leaſt, it is a general faſhion that prevails throughout India.

6. The pearl fiſhery, which is alſo one of the ſources of the revenue of Ceylon. It is no improbable conjecture, that this iſland, which is only fifteen leagues from the continent, was at ſome diſtant period ſeparated from it by ſome great convulſion of nature. The tract of ſea, which at preſent divides it from the land, is ſo full of ſhallows, that no ſhips can ſail upon it; and there are only a few places where ſmall boats may paſs in four or five feet water. The Dutch, who aſſume the ſovereignty here, have always two armed ſloops to enforce the payment of the taxes they have impoſed. In this ſtrait the pearl fiſhery is carried on, which was formerly of ſo much importance; but this ſource of wealth has been ſo much exhauſted, that it is but rarely reſorted to. The bank, indeed, is viſited every year, to ſee how it is repleniſhed with oyſters; but, in general, it is five or ſix years before a ſufficient quantity is to be found. The fiſhery is then farmed out; and, every thing computed, it may produce to the revenues of the company 200,000 livres*. Upon the ſame coaſts is found a ſhell-fiſh called xanxus, of which the Indians at Bengal make bracelets. The fiſhery is free, but the trade is excluſive.

After all, the great object of the company is cinnamon. The root of the tree that produces it

* 8,750l.

is

is large, and divides it into ſeveral branches covered with a bark, which on the outer ſide is of a greyiſh brown, and on the inner of a reddiſh caſt. The wood of this root is hard, white, and has no ſmell. The body of the tree, which grows to the height of eight or ten toiſes, is covered as well as its numerous branches, with a bark which at firſt is green, and afterwards red. The leaf, if it were not longer and narrower, would not be much unlike that of the laurel. When firſt unfolded it is of a flame colour: but after it has been for ſome time expoſed to the air, and grows dry, it changes to a deep green on the upper ſurface, and to a lighter on the lower. The flowers are ſmall and white, and grow in large bunches at the extremity of the branches; they have an agreeable ſmell, ſomething like that of the lily of the valley. The fruit is ſhaped like an acorn, but is not ſo large. It is commonly ripe in September. When boiled in water, it yields an oil which ſwims at top, and takes fire. If left to cool, it hardens into a white ſubſtance, of which candles are made, which have an agreeable ſmell, and are reſerved for the uſe of the king of Ceylon. No part of the tree that produces the cinnamon is valuable except the under bark. The beſt ſeaſon for raiſing and ſeparating it from the outer bark, which is grey and rugged, is the ſpring, when the ſap flows in the greateſt abundance. It is cut into thin ſlices, and expoſed to the ſun; and curls up in drying.

THE old trees produce a coarſe kind of cinnamon, which is in perfection only when the trees

are

are not older than three or four years. When the trunk has been ſtripped of its bark it receives no further nouriſhment, but the root is ſtill alive, and continues to throw out freſh ſhoots. Beſides this, the fruit of the cinnamon-tree contains a ſeed from which it is raiſed.

THERE are ſome of the company's territories where this tree does not grow. It is only to be found in thoſe of Negombo, Columbo, or the promontory of Galla. The prince's foreſts ſupply the deficiency which ſometimes prevails in the magazines. The mountains inhabited by the Bedas abound with the tree; but neither the Europeans nor the Cinglaſſes are allowed acceſs to them, and there is no way of ſharing the riches of the Bedas but by declaring war againſt them.

As the Cinglaſſes, as well as the Indians upon the continent, are divided into caſts which never make any alliances with one another, each conſtantly adhering to the ſame profeſſion; the art of barking the cinnamon-trees is a diſtinct occupation, and the meaneſt of all others, and is confined to the caſt of the Cooleys. Every other iſlander would look upon it as a diſgrace to be employed in this trade.

THE cinnamon is not reckoned excellent unleſs it be be fine, ſmooth, brittle, thin, of a yellow colour inclining to red, fragrant, aromatic, and of a poignant, yet agreeable taſte. The connoiſſeurs give the preference to that, the pieces of which are long but ſlender. It adds to the delicacies of the table, and is of ſovereign uſe in medicine.

THE

THE Dutch purchaſe the greateſt part of their cinnamon of the Indians who are ſubject to them. They have engaged to take a limited quantity of the king of Candy, at an advanced price. Setting one againſt the other, it does not coſt them twelve ſols * a pound. It would not be impoſſible for the ſhips that frequent the ports of Ceylon, to procure the tree that produces the cinnamon; but it has degenerated at Malabar, Batavia, the iſle of France, and in all parts where it has been tranſplanted.

FORMERLY the company thought it neceſſary to maintain four thouſand black or white ſoldiers, to ſecure the advantages they derived from Ceylon. The number is now reduced to fifteen or ſixteen hundred. Their annual expences, nevertheleſs, amount to 2,200,000 livres †; and their revenues, and ſmall branches of commerce, produce no more than 2,000,000 of livres ‡. This deficiency is ſupplied out of the profits ariſing from cinnamon. They are likewiſe obliged to provide for the expence attending the wars they are from time to time engaged in with the king of Candy, who is at preſent the ſole ſovereign of the iſland.

THE Dutch freely own that theſe ruptures are fatal to them. As ſoon as they break out, moſt of the people who inhabit the coaſts retire into the inland parts of the country. Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm that awaits them, they look upon the yoke of the Europeans as an evil ſtill more inſupportable. The Cooleys are ſo far from

* About 6d. † 96,250l. ‡ 87,500l.

always

always waiting for the commencement of hoſtilities as a ſignal for their removal, that they ſometimes reſolve to take this deſperate ſtep as ſoon as they perceive the leaſt miſunderſtanding between the king and the Dutch. On theſe occaſions, beſides the loſs of a harveſt, a long train of expence and fatigue follows, to enable them to penetrate, ſword in hand, into a country, encompaſſed on all ſides by rivers, woods, hollow vales, and mountains.

THESE important conſiderations had determined the company to engage the good will of the king of Candy, by ſhewing him all imaginable civilities. Every year they ſent an ambaſſador laden with rich preſents. They offered their ſhips to convey his prieſts to Siam, to be inſtructed in the religion of that country, which is the ſame with his own. Notwithſtanding they had taken the forts and the lands which were occupied by the Portugueſe, they contented themſelves with receiving from this prince the appellation of *guardians of his coaſts*. They alſo made him ſeveral other conceſſions.

THESE ſingular inſtances of management have not, however, been always ſufficient to maintain good harmony, which has ſeveral times been interrupted. The war which ended on the 14th of February, 1766, had been the longeſt and the moſt active of any that had been occaſioned by diſtruſt, and the claſhing of intereſts. As the company preſcribed terms to a monarch who was driven from his capital, and obliged to wander in the woods, they made a very advantageous treaty

treaty. Their ſovereignty was acknowledged over all the countries they were in poſſeſſion of before the troubles broke out; and that part of the coaſts which remained in the occupation of the natives was ceded to them. They are to be allowed to gather cinnamon in all the plains, and the court is to ſell them the beſt ſort that is produced in the mountainous parts at the rate of forty-one livres five ſols * for eighteen pounds. Their commiſſaries are authoriſed to extend their trade to all parts where they think it can be carried on with advantage. The government engages to have no connection with any other foreign power; and even to deliver up any Europeans who may happen to ſtray into the iſland. In return for ſo many conceſſions, the king is to receive annually the value of the produce of the ceded coaſts: and from thence his ſubjects are to be furniſhed gratis with ſalt ſufficient for their conſumption. It ſhould ſeem that the company may derive great advantages from ſo favourable a ſituation.

The property of the lands in Ceylon belongs no more of right to the ſovereign than in any other part of India. This pernicious ſyſtem has in that iſland been attended with fatal conſequences inſeparable from it. The people are in a ſtate of total inactivity. They live in huts, have no furniture, and ſubſiſt upon fruits; and thoſe who are the moſt affluent, have no other covering than a piece of coarſe linen wrapped about

* 1l. 16s. 1d.

their

their waiſt. It were to be wiſhed that the Dutch would purſue a ſcheme, which all the nations who have eſtabliſhed colonies in Aſia, are to blame never to have attempted, and that is, to diſtribute the lands among the families, and make them their own property. They would forget, and perhaps hate their former ſoveriegn; they would attach themſelves to a government that conſulted their happineſs; they would become induſtrious, and occaſion a greater conſumption. Under ſuch circumſtances the iſland of Ceylon would enjoy that opulence which was deſigned it by nature: it would be ſecure from revolutions, and be enabled to ſupport the ſettlements of Malabar and Coromandel, which it is bound to protect.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel.

THE Portugueſe, in the time of their proſperity, had formed ſome tolerable ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. That at Negapatan was taken from them by the Dutch in 1658. It gradually increaſed to ten or twelve villages, which were all inhabited by weavers. In 1690, it was thought proper to build a fort to ſecure their tranquillity, and in 1742 the tower was ſurrounded by walls. This is the central place into which all the white, blue, painted, printed, fine and coarſe linens are brought, which the company collects for the conſumption of Europe or India: and which come either from Bimilipatnam, Pellicate, Sadraſpatan, or from its factories on the fiſhing coaſt. Their inveſtments, which commonly amount to four or five thouſand bales, are carried to Negapatan, by two ſloops ſtationed in theſe ſeas for that purpoſe.

The Dutch ſell, on the coaſt of Coromandel, iron, lead, copper, calin, tutenague, pepper, and ſpices. Theſe united articles produce a million of livres *, to which we may add eighty thouſand † ariſing from the cuſtoms. The expences of their ſeveral eſtabliſhments amount to eight hundred thouſand livres ‡; and we may venture to aſſert without fear of being accuſed of exaggeration, that the freight of the ſhips ſwallows up the reſt of the profits. The net produce therefore of the Coromandel trade to the company, is the profit ariſing from the linens they export from thence. Their trade on the Malabar coaſt is ſtill leſs advantageous to them. It commenced pretty nearly at the ſame period, and was eſtabliſhed at the expence of the ſame nation.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar

It appears to be no difficult taſk to gueſs at the motives that led to this new enterpriſe. After the Portugueſe had loſt Ceylon, they ſold the wild cinnamon of Malabar in Europe nearly for the ſame price as they had always ſold the right ſort. Though this rivalſhip could not continue long, it gave uneaſineſs to the Dutch, who, in 1662, ordered Vangoens, their general, to attack Cochin.

The place was no ſooner inveſted, than intelligence was received of a peace being concluded between Holland and Portugal. This news was kept ſecret. The operations were carried on with vigour; and the beſieged, harraſſed by conti-

* 43,750l. † 3,500l. ‡ 35,000l.

nual

nual aſſaults, ſurrendered on the eighth day. The next day a frigate arrived from Goa with the articles of peace. The conquerors gave themſelves no further trouble to juſtify their treachery, than by ſaying, that thoſe who complained in ſo haughty a ſtile, had obſerved the ſame conduct at Brazil a few years before.

After this conqueſt, the Dutch thought themſelves firmly eſtabliſhed in Malabar. Cochin ſeemed to be neceſſary to protect Cananor, Cranganor, and Quillon, of which they had juſt before made themſelves maſters, and the factory of Porcat, which they had formed the plan of at that time, and have ſince actually eſtabliſhed. The event has not anſwered their expectation. The company have not ſucceeded in their hopes of excluding other European nations from this coaſt. They procure no kind of merchandiſe there, but what they are furniſhed with from their other ſettlements; and being rivalled in their trade they are obliged to give a higher price here, than in the markets where they enjoy an excluſive privilege.

Their articles of ſale conſiſt of a ſmall quantity of alum, benzoin, camphire, tutenague, ſugar, iron, calin, lead, copper, and quickſilver. The veſſel that carries this ſlender cargo returns to Batavia laden with caire, or cocoa-tree bark, for the uſe of the port. By theſe articles the company gain, at moſt, 360,000 livres *, which, with 120,000 † ariſing from the cuſtoms, make

* 15,750l. † 5,250l.

the ſum of 480,000 livres *. In times of profound peace the maintenance of theſe ſettlements coſts 464,000 livres †; ſo that 16,000 ‡ only, remain to defray the expences of their ſhipping, for which that ſum is certainly not ſufficient.

IT is true, the company gets two millions weight of pepper from Malabar, which is carried in ſloops to Ceylon, where it is put aboard the ſhips fitted out for Europe. It is likewiſe true, that, by virtue of theſe capitulations, they pay only 192 livres § the candil, which weighs five hundred pounds, for which other companies give 240 **, and private merchants 288 ††; but whatever advantage may be made of this article, it is reduced to nothing by the bloody wars it occaſions.

THESE obſervations had doubtleſs eſcaped the notice of Goloneſs, the director-general of Batavia, when he ventured to affirm that the ſettlement of Malabar which he had long ſuperintended, was one of the moſt important ſettlements belonging to the company. "I am ſo far from being of your "opinion, ſaid general Moſſel, that I could wiſh "the ſea had ſwallowed it up about a century ago."

BE this as it may, the Dutch, in the height of their ſucceſs, felt the want of a place where their veſſels might put in to get refreſhments, either in going to, or returning from India. They were undetermined in their choice, when Van-Riebeck the ſurgeon, in 1650, propoſed the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portugueſe had imprudently

The Dutch form a ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

* 21,000l. † 20,300l. ‡ 700l.
§ 8l. 8s. ** 10l. 10s. †† 12l. 12s.

 deſpiſed,

deſpiſed. This judicious man, during a ſtay of ſome weeks, was convinced that a colony might be placed to advantage on this ſouthern extremity of Africa, which might ſerve as a ſtaple for the commerce of Europe and Aſia. The care of forming this ſettlement was committed to him; and his meaſures were concerted upon a good plan. He cauſed it to be ſtipulated that every man who choſe to fix there ſhould have ſixty acres of land allotted him. Corn, cattle, and utenſils were to be provided for thoſe who wanted them. Young women taken from alms-houſes were given them as companions to ſoften, and to ſhare their fatigues. All thoſe, who after three years found the climate did not agree with them, had liberty to return to Europe, and to diſpoſe of their poſſeſſions in what manner they pleaſed. Having ſettled theſe arrangements he ſet ſail.

THE large tract of country which it was propoſed to cultivate, was inhabited by the Hottentots, who, according to a French traveller, are divided into ſeveral clans, each of which forms an independent village. Their habitations are huts covered with ſkins, which cannot be entered without creeping upon their hands and knees, and are diſpoſed in a circle. Theſe huts are hardly of any other uſe than to hold a few proviſions and houſhold furniture. The Hottentots never enter them but in the rainy ſeaſon. They are always found lying at their doors; and if they interrupt their repoſe it is to ſmoke a ſtrong herb which ſerves them inſtead of tobacco.

THE

THE management of cattle is the ſole employment of theſe ſavages. As there is but one herd in each town which is common to all the inhabitants, each of them is appointed to guard it in his turn. This poſt requires conſtant vigilance, the country being full of wild beaſts, which are more voracious at this extremity of Africa than in any other part. The ſhepherd ſends out ſcouts every day. If a leopard or tyger is ſeen in the neighbourhood, the whole town takes up arms, and flies to the enemy, who ſeldom eſcapes from ſo many poiſoned arrows, and ſharp ſtakes hardened in the fire.

As the Hottentots neither have, nor appear to have riches, and that their oxen and ſheep, which is all the property they have, are in common; it is natural to imagine that there is little occaſion for diſputes among them. They are accordingly united to each other by the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip: nor do they ever engage in any war, even with their neighbours; ſetting aſide the quarrels between the ſhepherds on account of cattle that may have ſtrayed, or been carried off.

IT has often been remarked that public cuſtoms gave riſe to the firſt colonies. Marks of diſtinction were adopted to make men unite and recognize one another. A broken noſe, a flat head, bored ears, paintings, burnings, head-dreſſes, are the uniform characteriſtics of the ſavage world. As no plan of morality or education prevails among them, it follows of courſe, that univerſal cuſtoms muſt with them ſupply the place of policy and government. Theſe uncivilized men,

the children of nature, depend entirely on the temper of the climate: and hence the Hottentots have the manners of ploughmen.

When the Dutch arrived, the Hottentots were, like all people who lead a paſtoral life, full of benevolence; and partook in ſome degree of the uncleanlineſs and ſtupidity of the animals they kept. They had inſtituted an order, with which they honoured thoſe who had ſubdued any of the monſters that were deſtructive to their ſheepfolds: and they revered the memory of the heroes who had done ſervice to mankind. The apotheoſis of Hercules had the ſame origin.

Riebeck, in conformity to the notions unhappily prevailing among the Europeans, began to take poſſeſſion of the moſt commodious part of the territory; and he afterwards deſigned to fix himſelf there. This behaviour diſpleaſed the natives. *On what pretence*, ſaid their envoy to theſe ſtrangers, *have you ſown our lands? Why do you employ them to feed your cattle? How would you behave if you ſaw your own fields invaded in this manner? You fortify yourſelves with no other view than to reduce the Hottentots to ſlavery.* Theſe remonſtrances were followed by ſome hoſtilities, which brought the founder of the colony back to thoſe principles of juſtice and humanity, that where agreeable to his natural character. he purchaſed the country he wanted to occupy for the ſum of 90,000 livers * which was paid in merchandiſe. All parties were reconciled, and from

* 3,937 l. 10s.

that

that period to the preſent time, there has been no further diſturbance.

It has been proved that the company have expended 46,000,000 of livres* in raiſing the colony to its preſent ſtate. A few particulars will enable us to judge how ſo conſiderable a ſum has been employed.

It is computed that there are at the Cape of Good Hope about twelve thouſand Europeans, Dutch, Germans, and French refugees. Some part of theſe numbers reſide in the capital, and two conſiderable towns: the reſt are diſperſed along the coaſt, which extends fifty leagues into the country. The ſoil of the Hottentots being ſandy, and only good by intervals; the huſbandmen chuſe to confine themſelves to thoſe places where they meet with water, wood, and fertile lands; three advantages ſeldom found together.

The company formerly procured ſlaves from Madagaſcar, who alleviated the burthen of the white people. Since the French appeared as rivals, this communication has been diſcontinued. The preſent planters conſiſt of a few Malays, who are unaccuſtomed to that climate, and are ſcarce fit for the work that is required of them.

If it were practicable to make the Hottentots ſteady, great advantages might accrue, which cannot be hoped for from their preſent character. All that has yet been done, has been to prevail with the pooreſt of them to engage in their ſervice for one, two, or three years. They are of a

* 2,012,500l.

docile temper, and perform the work that is expected from them; but, at the expiration of their agreement, they take the cattle that are allowed them for wages, rejoin their clan, and never make their appearance again till they have oxen or ſheep to barter for knives, tobacco, and brandy. They find an inexpreſſible charm in the independent and indolent life they lead in their deſerts. Nothing can wean them from this attachment. One of their children was taken from the cradle, and inſtructed in our manners and religion; he made a progreſs anſwerable to the pains that where beſtowed upon his education; he was ſent to India, and uſefully employed in trade. Happening, by accident, to reviſit his country, he went to ſee his relations in their hut. He was ſtruck with the ſimplicity that appeared there; he clothed himſelf with a ſheep-ſkin, and went to the fort to carry back his European habiliments. *I am come,* ſaid he to the governor, *to renounce for ever the mode of life you have taught me to embrace. I am reſolved to follow, till death, the manners and religion of my anceſtors. As a token of my affection, I will keep the collar and ſword you have given me: all the reſt you will permit me to leave behind.* He did not wait for an anſwer, but ran away, and was never heard of after.

THOUGH the character of the Hottentots is not ſuch as the Dutch could wiſh, the company derive ſolid advantages from this colony. Indeed, the tenth part of the corn and wine, together with their cuſtoms and other duties, does not

not exceed 240,000 livres*. They gain no more than 40,000† by their thick cloths, common thread and cotton pieces, hardware, coals, and other conſiderable articles, which they vend at this place.

THEY receive a ſtill ſmaller profit from ſixty lecques of red wine, and eighty or ninety of white, which they carry to Europe every year. The lecque weighs about twelve hundred pounds. There are only two places in the neighbourhood of Conſtantia that produce this wine. The company might have it entirely genuine, and at a very low rate. Happily the governor finds it his intereſt to allow the cultivators to mix it with the produce of the adjacent vineyards. By this management what remains of this celebrated wine, the genuine excellent Cape wine, is ſold to foreign veſſels that happen to touch at the coaſts at four livres‡ a bottle. It is generally preferable to that which is extorted by tyranny; nothing good being to be expected where it is not voluntarily obtained.

As the expences neceſſary for the ſupport of ſo large a ſettlement, ſwallow up, at leaſt, all theſe profits taken together, its utility muſt reſt upon ſome other foundation.

THE Dutch ſhips that ſail to and from India find a ſafe aſylum at the Cape; a delightful, ſerene, and temperate ſky, and learn every thing of importance that happens in both thoſe parts of the globe. Here they take in butter, meal,

* 10,500l. † 1,750l. ‡ 3s. 6d.

wine, large quantities of pickled vegetables for their voyage, and for the uſe of the colonies. They might derive much greater advantages from hence, if the company, blinded by their avidity, were not perpetually checking the induſtry of the planters. They oblige them to part with their proviſions at ſo low a price, that they have not, for a long time, been able to procure cloathing and other abſolute neceſſaries.

This tyrannical conduct might, perhaps, be borne with, if the victims of it were authoriſed to ſell their ſuperfluous produce to foreign navigators, whom the convenience of their ſituation, or other reaſons, might invite into their ports. But a ſpirit of jealouſy in trade, which is one of the greateſt evils that can befal mankind, has deprived them of this reſource. The Dutch have long flattered themſelves, that by with-holding this convenience from other trading nations, they ſhould make them abandon India in diſguſt. Notwithſtanding they have experienced the reverſe of this, their conduct is not altered; though it was eaſy to diſcern, that all the wealth which flowed into the colony would, ſooner or later, return to the company. The governor only is authoriſed to ſupply the moſt preſſing neceſſities of thoſe who touch at the Cape. Theſe wrong meaſures, have been, as they muſt neceſſarily be, the ſource of a thouſand inconveniences.

We muſt, however, do juſtice to M. Tolbac, who at preſent preſides over this colony. This generous man, during the laſt war, ſet an example

ample of benevolence and diſintereſtedneſs, which was not to be found in any of his predeceſſors. As his underſtanding raiſed him above prejudice, and that he had a ſufficient degree of firmneſs to deviate from the abſurd orders he received, he encouraged the nations who endeavoured to ſupplant one another to repair to his colony for ſubſiſtence. The price was ſo regulated by ſo juſt a ſtandard, that while it was ſo moderate as to invite purchaſers, it was high enough to animate the cultivators to induſtry. May this wiſe magiſtrate long enjoy the pleaſing conſciouſneſs of having made the fortune of his fellow-citizens, and the glory of having neglected his own!

If the company ſhould adopt his plan, they will imitate the ſpirit of their founders, who did nothing by chance; and, without waiting for the happy events we have been deſcribing, they will ſet themſelves to find out a place, which they may make the center of their power. They had caſt their eyes upon Java as early as the year 1609.

Dominions of the Dutch in the Iſland of Java.

The people of this iſland, which is two hundred leagues in length, and thirty or forty in breadth, traced their origin from China, though they retained nothing either of its religion or its manners. A very ſuperſtitious ſpecies of Mohammediſm conſtituted the prevailing worſhip. Some idolaters were ſtill remaining in the interior part of the country; and theſe were the only inhabitants of Java that where not arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. This iſland which was formerly under the dominion of a ſingle monarch,

narch, was at that time divided among ſeveral ſovereigns, who were perpetually at war with each other. Theſe eternal diſſenſions, while they kept up a military ſpirit among the people, made them neglect manners. Their enmity to ſtrangers, and want of confidence in each other, would lead one to conclude, that they breathed no ſentiment but hatred. Here men were wolves to each other, and ſeemed to unite in ſociety more for the ſake of committing mutal injuries, than of receiving mutal aſſiſtances. A Javaneſe never accoſted his brother without having a poniard in his hand; ever watchful to prevent, or prepared to commit ſome act of violence. The nobles had a great number of ſlaves, either bought, taken in war, or detained for debt, whom they treated with the utmoſt inhumanity. They cultivated the lands, and performed all kinds of hard labour; while the Javaneſe was employed in chewing betel, ſmoking opium, paſſing his life with his concubines, fighting or ſleeping. Theſe people poſſeſſed a coſiderable ſhare of underſtanding, but retained few traces of any moral principle. They had not ſo much the character of an unenlightened, as of a degenerated nation: in ſhort, they were a ſett of men, who from a regular government had fallen into a kind of anarchy; and gave full ſcope to the impetuous emotions which nature excites in theſe climates

THIS depraved character of the inhabitants did not alter the views of the Dutch with reſpect to Java. Their company might, indeed, be thwarted

thwarted by the Engliſh, who were then in poſſeſſion of a part of the trade of this iſland. But this obſtacle was ſoon removed. The weakneſs of James the Firſt, and the corruption of his council, had ſo damped the ſpirits of theſe haughty Britons, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſupplanted, without making thoſe efforts that might have been expected from their bravery. The natives of the country, deprived of this ſupport, were forced to ſubmit; but it required time, addreſs, and policy, to accompliſh that ſcheme.

It was one of the fundamental maxims of the Portugueſe to perſuade thoſe princes they wanted to engage or retain in a ſtate of dependence, to ſend their children to Goa to be educated at the expence of the court of Liſbon, and initiated early into its manners and principles. But this, which was in itſelf a good project, was ſpoiled by the conquerors, who admitted theſe young people to a participation of the moſt criminal pleaſures, and the moſt ſhameful ſcences of debauchery. The conſequence was, that when theſe Indians arrived at maturity, they could not help deteſting, or, at leaſt, deſpiſing ſuch abandoned inſtructors. The Dutch adopted the ſame plan, and improved upon it. They endeavoured to convince their pupils of the weakneſs, inconſtancy, and treachery of their ſubjects; and ſtill more of their power, wiſdom, and good faith of the company. By this method they ſtrengthened their uſurpations: but we are obliged to ſay, that the Dutch employed means that were treacherous and cruel.

THE government of the iſland, which was founded entirely on the feudal laws, ſeemed calculated to promote diſcord. Fathers and ſons turned their arms againſt each other. They ſupported the pretenſions of the weak againſt the ſtrong, and of the ſtrong againſt the weak, as they ſaw occaſion. They ſometimes took the monarch's part, and ſometimes that of his vaſſals. If any perſon aſcended the throne, who was likely to become formidable by his talents, they raiſed up rivals to oppoſe him. Thoſe who were not to be ſeduced by gold or promiſes, were ſubdued by fear. Every day was productive of ſome revolution which was always begun by the intrigues of the tyrants, and always ended to their advantage. At length they became maſters of the moſt important poſts in the inland parts of the country; and of the forts that were built upon the coaſts.

THIS plan of uſurpation was but juſt ready to be carried into execution, when a governor was appointed at Java, who had a palace and guards, and appeared in great pomp. The company thought proper to depart from the principles of œconomy they had hitherto adopted; from a perſuaſion, that the Portugueſe had derived a great advantage from the brilliant court kept by the viceroy of Goa: that the people of the Eaſt were to be dazzled in order to be the more eaſily ſubdued: and that it was neceſſary to ſtrike the imagination and the eyes of the Indians, who are guided more by their ſenſes than the inhabitants of our climates.

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THE Dutch had another reaſon for aſſuming an air of dignity. They had been repreſented in Aſia as pirates, without a country, without laws, and without a ruler. To ſilence theſe calumnies, they endeavoured to prevail with ſeveral ſtates adjoining to Java to ſend ambaſſadors to prince Maurice of the houſe of Orange.

THE execution of this project procured them a double advantage, as it gave them credit with the eaſtern nations, and flattered the ambition of the ſtadtholder, whoſe protection was neceſſary to be obtained, for reaſons which we are going to explain.

WHEN the company obtained their excluſive privilege, the ſtraits of Magellan, which could have no connection with the Eaſt Indies, were improperly enough included in the grant. Iſaac Lemaire, one of thoſe rich and enterpriſing merchants, who ought every where to be conſidered as the benefactors of their country, formed the project of penetrating into the South Sea by the ſouthern coaſts. Acceſs being denied by the only track that was known at that time; he fitted out two ſhips which paſſed a ſtrait, ſince called by his name, running between Cape Horn and Staten land; and were driven by accidents to the coaſt of Java, where they were condemned, and the crew ſent priſoners to Europe.

THIS tyrannical proceeding gave offence to the people, already prejudiced againſt an excluſive commerce. It was thought abſurd, that inſtead of giving thoſe who attempted diſcoveries the encouragement they deſerved, a ſtate purely com-

mercial ſhould forge ſhackles to confine their induſtry. The monopoly, which the avarice of individuals had endured with impatience, became more odious when the company ſtretched the conceſſions that had been made them beyond their due bounds. It was found, that as their pride and influence increaſed with their power, the intereſt of the nation would at length be ſacrificed to the intereſt, or even to the caprice of this formidable body. It is probable, that they muſt have ſunk under the publick reſentment; and that the charter which was near expiring, would not have been renewed, if they had not been ſupported by prince Maurice, favoured by the States-General, and encouraged to brave the ſtorm by the ſtrength they derived from their ſettlement at Java.

THOUGH the tranquillity of this iſland may have been diſturbed by various commotions, ſeveral wars, and ſome conſpiracies, it continues to be as much in ſubjection to the Dutch as they wiſh it to be.

BANTAM comprehends the weſtern part. One of its ſovereigns having reſigned the crown to his ſon, was reſtored to the throne in 1680 by the natural reſtleſſneſs of his temper, the bad conduct of his ſucceſſor, and a powerful faction. His party was on the point of prevailing, when the young monarch, beſieged in his capital by an army of thirty thouſand men, without any adherents, except the companions of his debaucheries, implored the protection of the Dutch. They flew to his aſſiſtance, beat his enemies, delivered him from his rival, and re-eſtabliſhed his authority. Though

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the expedition was ſpeedy, ſhort, and rapid, and conſequently could not be expenſive; they contrived to make the charges of the war amount to a prodigious ſum. The ſituation of things would not admit of a ſcrutiny into the ſum demanded for ſo great a piece of ſervice, and the exhauſted ſtate of the finances made it impoſſible to diſcharge it. In this extremity this weak prince determined to entail ſlavery on himſelf and his deſcendants, by granting to his deliverers the excluſive trade of his dominions.

THE company maintain this great privilege with three hundred and ſixty-eight men, who are ſtationed in two bad forts, one of which ſerves as a habitation for the governor, and the other as a palace for the king. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 100,000 livres *, which are regained upon the merchandiſe ſold there. Their clear profits conſiſt of what they gain upon three millions weight of pepper, which they oblige the inhabitants to ſell at twenty-five livres twelve ſols † a hundred.

THESE profits are inconſiderable in compariſon of what the company receives from Tſieribon, which it ſubdued without any efforts, without intrigues, and without expence. The Dutch were ſcarce ſettled at Java, when the ſultan of this narrow but very fertile ſtate put himſelf under their protection, to avoid ſubmitting to a neighbouring prince more powerful than himſelf. He ſells them annually a thouſand laſts of rice, each weighing three thouſand three hundred pounds, at ſeventy-

* 4,375l. † 11. 2s. 4d. ½.

ſix livres ſixteen ſols * a laſt; a million weight of ſugar, the fineſt of which coſt thirteen livres nine ſols † a hundred; one million two hundred thouſand pounds of coffee, at four ſols ‡ a pound; a hundred quintals of pepper, at four ſols eight deniers § a pound; thirty thouſand pounds of cotton, the fineſt of which coſts no more than one livre eight ſols ‖ a pound; ſix hundred thouſand pounds of areca, at twelve livres ** a hundred. Though fixing theſe prices ſo low is a manifeſt impoſition upon the weakneſs of the inhabitants, the people of Tſieribon, who are the moſt gentle and civilized of any in the iſland, have never been provoked by this injuſtice to take up arms. A hundred Europeans are ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 41,000 livres ††, which is gained by linens imported thither.

THE empire of Mataram, which formerly extended over the whole iſland, and at preſent takes up the greateſt part of it, was the laſt that was reduced to ſubjection. Often vanquiſhed, and ſometimes vanquiſhing, it continued its ſtruggles for independency, when the ſon and brother of a ſovereign who died in 1704, diſputed the ſucceſſion. The nation was divided between the two rivals. He who was entitled to the crown by order of ſucceſſion, had ſo viſibly the advantage, that he muſt ſoon have got the ſupreme power entirely into his hands, if the Dutch had not declared in favour of his rival. The party eſpouſed by theſe

* About 3l. 7s. 2d. ½. † About 11s. 9d. ‡ 2d. § About 2d. ½.
‖ About 1s. 2d. ½. ** 10s. 6d. †† 1,793l. 15s.

republicans,

republicans, at length prevailed after a ſeries of conteſts, more active, frequent, well conducted, and obſtinate, than could have been expected. The young prince, whom they wanted to deprive of his ſucceſſion to the king his father, diſplayed ſo much intrepidity, prudence and firmneſs, that he would have triumphed over his enemies, had it not been for the advantage they derived from their magazines, forts, and ſhips. His uncle uſurped his throne; but ſhewed himſelf unworthy to fill it.

When the company reſtored him to the crown, they dictated laws to him. They choſe the place where his court was to be fixed, and ſecured his attachment by a citadel in which a guard was maintained, with no other apparent view than to protect the prince. After all theſe precautions, they employed every artifice to lull his attention by pleaſures, to gratify his avarice by preſents, and to flatter his vanity by pompous embaſſies. From this æra, the prince and his ſucceſſors, who were educated ſuitably to the part they were to act, were nothing more than the deſpicable tools of the deſpotiſm of the company. All that is neceſſary for their ſupport, is three hundred horſe and four hundred ſoldiers, whoſe maintenance, including the pay of the agents, coſts them 760,000. livres.*

The company are amply reimburſed for this expence by the advantages it ſecures them. The harbours of this ſtate afford docks for the conſtruction of all the ſmall veſſels and ſloops employed in the company's ſervice. They are ſup-

* 33,250l.

plied from hence with all the timber that is wanted in their ſeveral Indian ſettlements, and in part of their foreign colonies. Here too they load their veſſels with the productions with which the kingdom is obliged to furniſh them; conſiſting of five thouſand laſts of rice, at forty-eight livres * a laſt; as much ſalt as they require, at twenty-eight livres ſixteen ſols † a laſt; a hundred thouſand pounds of pepper, at nineteen livres four-ſols ‡ a hundred; all the indigo that is raiſed, at three livres § a pound; cadjang, for the uſe of their ſhips, at ſeventy-ſix livres ſixteen ſols ‖ a laſt; cotton yarn, from twelve ſols to one livre ** a pound, according to its quality: and the ſmall quantity of cardamom that is produced there, at a ſhameful price.

THE iſland of Madura, which is ſeparated from the ports of Mataram only by a narrow channel, is obliged, by a garriſon of fifteen men, to furniſh rice at a very low rate. This iſland, in common with the people of Java, labours under a ſtill more odious oppreſſion. The company's commiſſaries make uſe of falſe meaſure in order to procure a larger quantity of goods from the people that are to furniſh them. This fraud, practiſed for their own private advantage, has not hitherto been puniſhed; and there is no reaſon to hope that it ever will. Balambangan is the only diſtrict in the iſland of Jàva, that is not expoſed to theſe iniquitous practices. The Dutch who ſlighted it, on

* 2 l. 2 s. † About 1 l. 5 s. 2 d. ‡ 16. 9 d. ½. § About 2 s. 7 d. ½.
‖ About 3 l. 7 s. 2 d. ½. ** From about 6 d. to 1 s. 3 d.

account

account of its not furniſhing any article of trade, have held no correſpondence with it.

For the reſt, the Dutch having abated the turbulency of the Javaneſe, by gradually undermining the laws that maintained it; and ſatisfied with having forced them to give ſome attention to agriculture, and with having ſecured to themſelves a commerce perfectly excluſive, have not attempted to acquire any property in the iſland. Their territory extends no further than the ſmall kingdom of Jacatra. The ravages committed by the Dutch when they conquered this ſtate, and the tyranny that followed that conqueſt, had turned it into a deſert. It ſtill remains uncultivated and inactive.

The Dutch, thoſe of them in particular who go to India to ſeek their fortunes, were hardly qualified to recover this excellent ſoil from its exhauſted ſtate. It was ſeveral times propoſed to have recourſe to the Germans; and by the encouragements of ſome advances, and ſome gratuities, to exerciſe their induſtry in a manner the moſt advantageous to the company. What theſe laborious people might have done in the fields, the ſilk manufacturers from China, and the linen-weavers from Coromandel might have executed in the workſhops, for the improvement of manufactures. As theſe uſeful projects did not favour any private views, they continued to be nothing more than projects. At length the governors-general Imhoff and Moſſel, ſtruck with a ſcene of ſuch great diſorder, endeavoured to find out a remedy.

With this view they ſold to the Chineſe and the Europeans, at a ſmall price, the lands which

the government had acquired by oppreſſive means. This management has not produced all the good that was expected from it. The new proprietors have ſeldom ventured to keep any thing upon their eſtates but ſheep and cattle, for which they have an eaſy, certain and advantageous market. They would have applied themſelves to agriculture, which requires more care, greater pecuniary encouragements, and a greater number of hands, if the company did not inſiſt on their furniſhing the commodities at the ſame price they give for them in the reſt of the iſland. At this preſent time there are no more than a hundred and fifty thouſand ſlaves, who are under the direction of a ſmall number of free men. The produce of their labours conſiſts of two million weight of coffee, a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of pepper, twenty-five thouſand pounds of cotton, ten thouſand pounds of indigo, ten million of ſugar, and ſix thouſand leques of areca. The two laſt articles have been cultivated with more ſpirit than the reſt, becauſe private perſons, having the liberty to purchaſe and export them, pay twenty per cent. dearer for them than the company.

THESE commodities, as well as all thoſe that are produced in Java, are carried to Batavia, which is built on the ruins of the ancient capital of Jacatra.

A CITY which has become ſo conſiderble a mart, muſt have received many ſucceſſive improvements. It is well built; the houſes though not magnificent, are pleaſant, commodious, and well furniſhed; the ſtreets are broad, running in ſtrait lines, with rows of large trees on each ſide,

and

and canals cut through them; they are always clean though it has not been thought proper to pave them, for fear of increaſing the heat by too ſtrong a reflection of the ſun's rays. All the publick buildings have an air of grandeur; and the generality of travellers look upon Batavia as one of the fineſt cities in the world.

THE number of inhabitants, including the ſuburbs and liberties, does not exceed a hundred thouſand. The greateſt part of them are ſlaves. Here are likewiſe Malayans, Javaneſe, free Macaſſers, who are all of them indolent; and Chineſe, who have the excluſive exerciſe of all trades, are the only cultivators of the ſugar-cane, and manage all the manufactures. The number of Europeans may amount to ten thouſand; of theſe, four thouſand born in India, are, to an inconceivable degree, degenerated. This ſtrange perverſion is probably owing to the generally received cuſtom of committing the care of their education to ſlaves.

THE corruptions at Batavia have, however, been exaggerated. Diſſolute manners are not more prevalent there than in other ſettlements formed by the Europeans in Aſia. It is true, the people drink to exceſs; but the ties of marriage are held ſacred. None but unmarried men keep concubines, who are generally of the rank of ſlaves. The prieſts have endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of theſe connections, which are always ſecret, by refuſing to baptize the offspring of them; but they are become leſs rigid, ſince a carpenter belonging to the company, who choſe his ſon ſhould

be of ſome religion or other, took it into his head to have him circumciſed.

Luxury has maintained its ground more ſucceſsfully than concubinage. The ladies, who are univerſally ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the richneſs of their dreſs, and the magnificence of their equipage, have carried their taſte for finery to exceſs. They never ſtir out without a numerous train of ſlaves; and either ride in magnificent cars, or are carried in ſuperb palanquins. They wear gold or ſilver tiſſues, or fine Chineſe ſattins, with a net of gold thrown over them; and their head-dreſs is loaded with pearls and diamonds. In 1758 the government attempted to reform theſe extravagancies, by preſcribing a mode of dreſs ſuitable to each rank. Theſe regulations were received with contempt, means were found to elude, or to purchaſe an immunity from them, and no change took place. It would, indeed, have been a ſtrange ſingularity, if the uſe of precious ſtones had been diſcontinued in the country that produced them; and that the Dutch had regulated a ſpecies of luxury in India, which they brought from thence with a view of introducing, or increaſing it in this part of the world. The force and example of an European government ſtruggle in vain againſt the laws and manners of the climate of Aſia.

The heats, which might naturally be expected to be exceſſive at Batavia, are allayed by an agreeable ſea-breeze, which begins to blow every day at ten o'clock, and continus till four. The nights are rendered cool by land-breezes, which die away

at day-break. It would contribute to make the air as pure as the ſky is ſerene, if the canals were made ſomewhat deeper, and ſluices were conſtructed. Diſorders are not, however, very frequent here. The mortality that prevails among the ſoldiers and ſailors, is rather owing to debauchery, bad proviſions and fatigue, than to the inclemency of the climate.

NOTHING can be more agreeable than the environs one or two leagues round the capital. The country is interſperſed with delightful villas, plantations that yield an agreeable ſhade, and gardens finely ornamented, and even diſpoſed with taſte. It is the faſhion to live there all the year, and the people in office only come to Batavia to tranſact public buſineſs. Theſe charming retreats formerly owed their tranquillity to forts erected at a certain diſtance from one another, to prevent the incurſions of the Javaneſe. Since theſe people have contracted a habit of ſlavery, theſe redoubts ſerve as barracks for the refreſhment of the recruits, after the fatigues of a long voyage.

BATAVIA is ſituated at the bottom of a deep bay, containing ſeveral iſlands of a middling ſize, which reſiſt the impetuoſity of the ſea. It is properly ſpeaking, a road; but is as ſafe a retreat from all winds, and in all ſeaſons, as the beſt harbour. The only inconvenience is the difficulty of going, in ſtormy weather, aboard the ſhips that are obliged to anchor at a conſiderable diſtance. The ſhips undergo the neceſſary repairs at the ſmall iſland of Onruſt; which, though two leagues and a half diſtant, is one of thoſe that chiefly con-

tribute to the goodneſs of the road. It forms an excellent dock, is well fortified, and never without three or four hundred European carpenters; and as veſſels can eaſily take in their lading there, magazines are erected for the reception of the larger kinds of merchandize intended for exportation. A pretty conſiderable river, after fertilizing the fields, and refreſhing Batavia, falls into the ſea, for no other purpoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, than to ſerve as a channel of communication between the town and the ſhipping. The lighters that are continually meeting each other in this paſſage, and formerly drew twelve feet water, are reduced to one-half: the ſands and rubbiſh have formed a bank, which, if ſuffered to increaſe, will prove an inconvenience, and occaſion a very conſiderable expence. It is well worth while, on account of the importance of Batavia, to pay a ſerious attention to every thing that may contribute to the improvement and utility of its road, which is the moſt important one in India.

ALL the veſſels ſent out by the company from Europe to Aſia touch at Batavia; and except thoſe that go directly from Bengal to Ceylon, they are laden in their return with all the articles of thoſe rich ſales, which create among us ſo much ſurprize and admiration.

THE expeditions to the different ſea-ports of India are hardly leſs; perhaps they are more conſiderable. European veſſels are employed in this ſervice during the unavoidable ſtay they are obliged to make in theſe remote ſeas.

THIS

This two-fold navigation is founded upon that which connects all the Dutch ſettlements with Batavia. Thoſe that lie to the eaſt are led from their ſituation, the nature of their merchandiſe, and their wants, to keep up a more frequent correſpondence with it than the reſt. But all of them are obliged to have paſs-ports. Any ſhip belonging to a private perſon, that ſhould neglect this precaution, which was taken to prevent fraudulent trade, would be ſeized by the ſloops that are continually cruiſing in theſe latitudes. When they arrive at the place of their deſtination, they deliver to the company ſuch of their commodities as they have reſerved the excluſive trade of to themſelves, and diſpoſe of the reſt to whom they pleaſe. The ſlave-trade, conſtitutes one of the principal branches of the commerce laſt mentioned, Six thouſand of both ſexes are annually carried to Batavia, where they are employed in domeſtic ſervice, the cultivation of the lands, or manufactures. The Chineſe, who cannot bring or invite over any of their country women, make their choice among the ſlaves.

To theſe articles of importation may be added thoſe brought every year, by a dozen Chineſe junks, from Emoy, Limpo, and Canton. Their cargo is valued at about three millions*, and conſiſts of camphire, porcelain, ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, which are uſed in Batavia and the reſt of the Dutch colonies; of unwrought ſilks, which are bought by the company when they are in any conſiderable quantity, or which, when they are but few of

* 131,250l.

them,

them, are ſold to thoſe who chuſe to ſend them to Macaſſar or Sumatra, where the great have pagnes made of them; of tea, which was formerly engroſſed by the company, but is now given up to private traders, who ſend it to Europe, where it is ſold by the company, who deduct forty per cent. for the freight. This tea is generally bad, and of the coarſeſt quality.

The junks, which beſides the aforementioned articles regulary bring two thouſand Chineſe to Java, who come thither in hopes of making their fortunes, carry back ſtags' pizzles and the fins of the ſhark, which are reckoned among the delicacies of the table in China. Another article they receive in exchange from Batavia is tripam, to the annual amount of two thouſand peculs. Each pecul, weighing a hundred and twenty-five pounds, ſells from twelve to forty livres * according to its quality. It grows only two feet from the ſea upon the barren rocks of the eaſt, and of Cochin-china, from whence it is carried to Batavia, together with thoſe birds' neſts ſo much celebrated all over the eaſt which are found in the ſame places. A pecul of the laſt-mentioned merchandiſe ſells from 1,400 to 2,800 livres †, and the Chineſe carry away one thouſand. Theſe neſts are of an oval ſhape, an inch high, three inches round, and weigh about half an ounce. They are formed by a ſpecies of the ſwallow; its head, breaſt, and wings are of a fine blue, and its body milk white. They

* From 10s. 6d. to 1l. 15s. † From 61l. 5s. to 122l. 10s.

are

are compoſed of the ſpawn of fiſh, or of a glutinous froth which the agitation of the ſea leaves upon the rocks, to which they are faſtened at the bottom and on the ſide. When ſeaſoned with ſalt and ſpices, they make a nouriſhing, wholeſome, and delicious jelly, and are an article of the higheſt luxury at the tables of the eaſtern Mohammedans. Their whiteneſs conſtitutes their delicacy. The Chineſe likewiſe carry away calin and pepper, though the company reſerved the exportation of thoſe articles to themſelves. Their principal agents pretend, for their own advantage, that theſe exportations are not prejudicial to the body which has intruſted its intereſts to their management.

The traffic of the Chineſe at Batavia, beſides the merchandiſe they export from thence, brings them in ſome ready money. This wealth is increaſed by the conſiderable ſums that the Chineſe ſettled at Java remit to their families, and by the ſums ſooner or later amaſſed by thoſe, who, content with their fortune, return to their own country, of which they ſeldom loſe ſight.

The Europeans are not ſo well treated at Batavia as the Chineſe. None are admitted there as merchants, but the Spaniards. Their ſhips come from Manilla with gold, which is the produce of that iſland; and with cochineal and piaſters brought from Mexico. They take in exchange, linens for their own uſe and that of Acapulco; but the principal article is cinnamon, the conſumption of which is much increaſed by the general uſe of chocolate in the

new

new world, and the progreſs it is daily making in Europe. Since the Engliſh and French have ſailed to the Phillippines, the former branch of this trade has conſiderably declined; the latter ſuffered a change in the year 1759. Before that time, cinnamon was ſold to the Spaniards at a moderate price; but, at preſent, they are expected to give the ſame that it bears in Europe. This innovation occaſions a coolneſs between the two colonies. The conſequences of this miſunderſtanding have not come to our knowledge.

ALL we know is, that the French hardly ever go to Batavia but in time of war. They purchaſe rice and arrack there for the uſe of their ſhips and their ſettlements, and make their payments for theſe commodities in ſilver, or bills of exchange.

THE Engliſh are oftener ſeen there. All their veſſels coming from Europe to China put in at this harbour under pretence of taking in freſh water; but in reality with a view of vending the goods, which are the property of the ſhips company, conſiſting of cloths, hard-ware, glaſſes, arms, Madeira wines, and Portugal oils. This clandeſtine trade ſeldom exceeds a million of livres*.

BESIDES the Engliſh veſſels ſent from Europe, there are three or four belonging to the ſame nation, which are every year fitted out for Batavia from different parts of India. They have

* 43,750 L.

attempted

attempted to ſell opium and linens there, but have been obliged to diſcontinue this importation, which was too prejudicial to private intereſt to be permitted. Their trade is limited to the purchaſe of ſugar, which they export to all parts, and of arrack, prodigious quantities of which are conſumed in their colonies. Arrack is a kind of brandy made of rice, ſyrup of ſugar, and cocoa-tree, which, after being fermented together, are diſtilled. This is one among other branches of trade which the Dutch by their induſtry have deprived the Portugueſe of. The art of making arrack, which was originally eſtabliſhed at Goa, has for the moſt part been transferred to Batavia.

All imported or exported commodities pay this city a tax of five per cent. The revenue ariſing from the cuſtoms is farmed at the rate of 1,828,000 livres*. The extent of the trade muſt not be eſtimated by this rule, which, however, is always the moſt to be depended upon. The people in office pay what they think proper, and the company pay nothing, as that would be paying to themſelves. Though they are here, as well as in other places, the only merchants in the iſland, the profits ariſing from the productions peculiar to Batavia, do not defray the expences of this celebrated mart, which amount to ſix millions †.

The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch company in India, and in Europe.

One of the articles of this expence, which is undoubtedly very great, is the maintenance of

* 79,975l. † 262,500l.

of a council, which gives laws to all the ſettlements in India, and has the ſole direction of affairs. This council is compoſed of the governor of the Dutch Indies, the director-general, five directors in ordinary, and a ſmall number of extraordinary counſellors, which laſt have no votes, and only ſupply the place of the deceaſed counſellors in ordinary, till ſucceſſors are appointed.

THE power of nomination to theſe offices is veſted in the direction at home. They are open to all who have money, or are relations or retainers to the governor-general. On his demiſe, the directors in ordinary proviſionally appoint a ſucceſſor, who ſeldom fails to be confirmed in his employment. If the contrary happens, he is not admitted into the council; but may enjoy all the honours granted to the preſidents that retire.

THE governor-general reports to the council the ſtate of all affairs in the iſland of Java: and each counſellor, that of the province intruſted to his care. The director has the inſpection of the cheſt and magazines at Batavia, which ſupply the reſt of the ſettlements. All purchaſes and all ſales are directed by him. The ſignature of the company is indiſpenſably neceſſary in all commercial tranſactions.

THOUGH all points ought, ſtrictly ſpeaking, to be decided in the council by a majority of votes, the governor-general ſeldom fails to exerciſe an uncontrouled authority. This influence is owing to the care he takes to admit none but

but perſons of inferior abilities, and to the intereſt they find, in making their court to him, in order to advance their fortunes. If on any occaſion he meets with an oppoſition that thwarts his deſigns, he is at liberty to take his own meaſures, making himſelf anſwerable for the conſequences.

THE governor-general, like all the reſt of the officers, is appointed only for five years, but uſually holds his place during life. There have formerly been inſtances of governors-general who have retired from buſineſs, to paſs their days in tranquillity at Batavia; but the ill treatment experienced from their ſucceſſors, has, of late years, determined them to remain in their poſt till death. They formerly appeared in great ſtate, but it was laid aſide by governor-general Imhoff, as uſeleſs and troubleſome. Though all orders of men may aſpire to this dignity, none of the army, and but few of the gown, have been known to obtain it. It is always filled by merchants, becauſe the ſpirit of the company is entirely commercial. Thoſe who are born in India have ſeldom ſufficient addreſs or abilities to procure it. The preſent preſident, however, has never been in Europe.

THE ſalary of this principal officer is but ſlender; he has no more than two thouſand livres* a month, and ſubſiſtence equal to his pay. The greateſt part of his income ariſes from the liberty allowed him, of taking as much as he pleaſes

* 87l. 10s.

from

from the magazines at prime coſt, and from the liberty he aſſumes of trading to any extent he judges convenient. The income of the counſellors, members of the council, is likewiſe very conſiderable, though the company allows them only four hundred livres * a month, and goods to the ſame amount.

The council meets but twice a week, unleſs when ſome extraordinary events require a more ſtrict attendance. They appoint to all civil and military employments in India, except thoſe of the writer and ſerjeant, which they thought might be left, without inconvenience, at the diſpoſal of the governors of the reſpective ſettlements. On his advancement to any poſt, every man is obliged to take an oath, that he has neither promiſed, nor given any thing to obtain his employment. This cuſtom, which is very ancient, familiarizes people to falſe oaths, and proves no bar to corruption. Whoever conſiders the number of abſurd and ridiculous oaths neceſſary to be taken at preſent in moſt countries, on being admitted into any ſociety or profeſſion whatever, will be leſs ſurpriſed to find prevarication ſtill prevails where perjury has led the way.

All connections of commerce, not excepting that of the Cape of Good Hope, are made by the council, and the reſult of them alway falls under their cognizance. Even the ſhips that ſail directly from Bengal and Ceylon, only carry to Europe the invoices of their cargoes. Their

* 17l. 10s.

accompts,

accompts, as well as all others, are ſent to Batavia, where a general regiſter is kept of all affairs.

THE council of India is not a ſeparate body, nor is it independent. It acts in ſubordination to the direction eſtabliſhed in the united provinces. Though this is, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, a direction, the care of diſpoſing of the merchandiſe twice a year, is divided between ſix chambers concerned in this commerce. Their buſineſs is more or leſs, according to the funds that belong to them.

THE general aſſembly, which has the direction of the buſineſs of the company, is compoſed of directors of all the chambers. Amſterdam nominates eight; Zealand, four; each of the other chambers, one; and the ſtate but one. Hence we ſee that Amſterdam, having half the number of voices, has only one to gain to enable it to turn the ſcale, where every queſtion is to be decided by a majority of votes.

THIS body, which is compoſed of ſeventeen perſons, meets twice or thrice a year, during ſix years at Amſterdam, and two at Middleburg. The other chambers are two inconſiderable to enjoy this prerogative. It having been found by experience, that the ſucceſs frequently depended on ſecret intrigues, it was propoſed, about the middle of the laſt century to chuſe four of the moſt able of the ſeventeen deputies, and to inveſt them with authority to regulate all affairs in Europe and India, without

the conſent of their colleagues, and without being obliged even to aſk their opinion.

It is true, their myſterious tranſactions, and the conſequences of them, cannot long be kept a ſecret. The fleet that returns at the end of the ſummer, brings their books of accounts regulary from India. They are compared with thoſe in Europe. The general balance of the company's accounts are always publiſhed in May. Every perſon concerned knows what he as gained or loſt. The gain is commonly conſiderable.

The company's fund did not at firſt exceed 12,919,680 livres *; Amſterdam furniſhed 7,349,830 †; Zealand, 2,667,764 ‡; Delft, 940,000 §; Rotterdam, 354,800 ‖; Horn, 533,736 **; Enchuyſen, 1,073,550 ††.

This fund was divided into ſums of 6,000 livres ‡‡, which were called ſhares.

Their numbers were two thouſand one hundred: ſince 1692, however, the profits are divided into two thouſand one hundred and thirty. It was then that the company, which had always been protected by the houſe of Orange, and ſtill ſtood in need of its aſſiſtance, made the ſtadtholder a preſent of a revenue of thirty ſhares for life.

The ſhares ſell for ready money, or upon credit, like merchandiſe. No other form is requiſite than to ſubſtitute the name of the buyer for that of the ſeller in the company's books,

* 585,736l.
§ 41,125l.
†† 46,967l. 16s. 3d.
† 321,555l. 1s. 3d.
‖ 15,522l. 10s.
‡‡ 262l. 10s.
‡ 116,714l. 13s. 6d.
** 23,350l. 19s.

the

the only title by which they are held by the proprietor. Avarice and the ſpirit of commerce have invented another method of acquiring a ſhare in this traffic. Perſons who have no ſtock to ſell, and who do not intend to buy, enter into a reciprocal engagement that one of the parties ſhall deliver, and the other receive a certain number, at ſuch a time, at a price agreed upon. On the day fixed, they compute the difference between the current price of the ſtocks and their value when the agreement was made; they ſettle the balance of the account in money, and the tranſaction is over. The deſire of gaining, and the fear of loſing by theſe ſpeculations, is productive of great anxiety. They invent good or bad news; they favour or oppoſe the reports of others; they try to penetrate the ſecrets of the court, or to purchaſe thoſe of foreign miniſters. Theſe claſhing intereſts have often diſturbed the public tranquillity. Matters have even been carried to ſuch a height, that the public have been obliged to take meaſures to put a ſtop to the rage of ſtock-jobbing. The moſt efficacious method has been to declare all bargains of ſale for time null and void, unleſs it appears, by the company's books, that the ſeller was a proprietor at the time the bargain was made. Men of honour hold themſelves obliged to fulfil their engagements, notwithſtanding this law: but it is natural to think that it muſt, and indeed it does, make theſe tranſactions leſs frequent.

THE price of ſtocks, which may be looked upon as the true thermometer of the company, has often varied. Injudicious or unſucceſsful treaties, freſh competitions, accidents unavoidably attending an extenſive commerce, the tranquillity or the diſturbances of India, and of Europe in particular, have occaſioned theſe changes. For ſome years the ſtanding price of ſtocks has been two hundred and forty per cent. more than their original value. They formerly roſe as high as ſix hundred and fifty per cent. So conſiderable an advantage muſt have greatly enriched the original proprietors of theſe funds, and the families that inherit them; but the preſent purchaſers ſeldom get more than three and a half per cent. intereſt for their money. This remarkable proſperity has no parallel in hiſtory. Let us try to explain the cauſes of it.

Cauſes of the proſperity of the company.

THE earlieſt ſucceſs of the company was owing to their having the good fortune, in leſs than half a century, to take more than three hundred Portugueſe veſſels. Theſe ſhips, ſome of which were bound for Europe, and others for different ſea ports in India, were laden with the ſpoils of Aſia. This wealth, which the captors had the honeſty not to meddle with, brought to the company immenſe returns, or ſerved to procure them. Thus the ſales were very conſiderable, though the exports were very modeate.

THE decline of the maritime power of the Portugueſe, encouraged the Dutch to attack the ſettlements belonging to that nation, and great-

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ly facilitated the conqueſt of them. They found the forts ſtrongly built, defended by a numerous artillery, and provided with every thing that government and the rich individuals of a victorious nation might naturally be ſuppoſed to have collected together for their protection. To form a juſt idea of this advantage, we need only conſider what it has coſt other nations to obtain permiſſion to fix in an advantageous ſituation, to build houſes, magazines, and forts; and to procure all the conveniences neceſſary for their ſecurity, or their commerce.

When the company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and well eſtabliſhed ſettlements, they did not give way to a graſping ambition. They were deſirous of extending their commerce, not their conqueſts. They can hardly be accuſed of any inſtances of injuſtice, except thoſe that ſeemed neceſſary to ſecure their power. The eaſt was no longer a ſcene of bloodſhed, as it had been at the time, when the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by martial exploits, and the rage of making proſelytes, gave the Portugueſe a menacing air wherever they appeared in India.

The Dutch ſeemed to have arrived rather to revenge, and reſcue the natives of the country, than to enſlave them. They maintained no wars with them, but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure ſettlements upon their coaſts, and to oblige them to enter into treaties of commerce. It is true, theſe people received no advantage from them, and were deprived of a great part of

their liberty; but in other reſpects, their new maſters, rather leſs barbarous than the conquerors they diſpoſſeſſed, left the Indians at liberty to govern themſelves, and did not compel them to change their laws, their manners, or their religion.

By their manner of poſting and diſtributing their forces, they contrived to keep the people in awe, whom they had at firſt conciliated by their behaviour. If we except Cochin and Malacca, they had nothing upon the continent but factories and ſmall forts. The iſlands of Java and Ceylon contained their troops and magazines: and from thence their ſhips maintained their authority, and protected their trade throughout India.

This trade became very conſiderable by the ſpices falling into their hands, after the deſtruction of the Portugueſe ſettlements. The demand for this valuable article has been more or leſs extenſive, accoording to circumſtances. At preſent they ſell every year a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of cloves in India, and three hundred and fifty thouſand in Europe: the price in both parts of the world is fixed at ten livres* a pound. Though the Dutch give no more than eight ſols and a few deniers † a pound, it coſts them four livres ſix ſols ‡, on account of charges and deficiencies. India takes off no more than a hundred thouſand weight of nutmegs, whereas Europe conſumes two hundred and fifty thou-

* 8s. 9d. † About 8d. ½ or 9d. ‡ About 3s. 9d.

ſand.

ſand. It is bought at the rate of two ſols three deniers * a pound, and the neceſſary expences bring it to two livres ten ſols †. It ſells for ſeven livres ten ſols ‡, on this ſide the Cape, and for no more than five livres twelve ſols §, on the other ſide. This difference will never induce any merchant to bring us the nutmeg; becauſe the nuts that are ſent all over Aſia are ſhrivelled, have no oil in them, and often decay. Ten thouſand pounds of mace is ſufficient for the ſupply of India, a hundred thouſand for that of Europe. The prime coſt is ſixteen ſols ſix deniers ‖ a pound, it riſes to five livers eight ſols **, and is ſold every where at twelve livres ſixteen ſols ††. As for the cinnamon, the conſumption of it in Europe does not exceed four hundred thouſand weight, and in India it does not amount to two hundred thouſand; the greateſt part of which is ſent to Manilla for the uſe of Spaniſh America. It is every where ſold by the company at preſent, at the rate of ten livres ten ſols ‡‡ a pound, though it does not coſt them twelve ſols §§. That which they refuſe to purchaſe, as being too courſe, is made into oil. They make preſents of it to the powers of Aſia wo do not chuſe to purchaſe it; and it ſells here from about twenty to fifty or ſixty livres ¶¶ an ounce. The ſmell is ſo ſtrong, and at the ſame time ſo agreeable,

* About 1 d. ¾
§ 4 s. 10 d. ¾
†† About 11 s. 2 d. ½
¶¶ 17 s. 6 d. to 21. 12 s. 6 d.
† 2 s. 2 d. ½
‖ About 8 d. ¾
‡‡ About 9 s. 2 d. ½
‡ 6 s. 6 d. ¾
** About 4 s. 8 d ½
§§ About 6 d. ½

that it would be commonly, if not univerſally uſed, if the Dutch did not aſk ſo high a price for it: it being more for their advantage to ſell this ſpice in its original form.

We cannot conclude this important article without obſerving, that in proportion as the company's profits have decreaſed, they have raiſed the price of ſpices both in India and Europe. This though in itſelf a bad expedient, has not injured in any great degree the ſale of cloves and nutmeg, for which there is no ſuccedaneum. But the caſe has been otherwiſe in regard to cinnamon. A ſpurious kind has, in ſeveral markets, been ſubſtituted for the genuine; and this branch of commerce is viſibly on the decline, and will continue to be more ſo every day.

The company have ſpared no pains to preſerve the excluſive trade of pepper, which they held for ſome time. Though their attemps have not been quite ſucceſsful, they have ſo far gained their point, as to maintain a conſiderable ſuperiority over their competitors. The quantity they ſell of this article in Europe amounts to five millions weight, and three millions five hundred weight in India. The company purchaſe it, upon the whole, at thirty-ſix livres * a hundred weight, and ſell it to us at a hundred livres †, and from forty-eight to ſeventy-two livres ‡ to the people of Aſia.

In conſequence of the ſale of ſpices, the greateſt part of the India trade muſt of courſe fall into

* 1l. 11s. 6d. † 4l. 7s. 6d. ‡ About 2l. 12s 6d. on an average.

the

the hands of the Dutch. The neceſſity of exporting them, gave the Dutch an opportunity of appropriating to themſelves ſeveral other branches of commerce. In proceſs of time they became maſters of the coaſting trade of Aſia, as they were already of that of Europe. This navigation employed a great number of ſhips and ſailors, who without cauſing any expence to the company contributed to its ſecurity.

By virtue of theſe ſuperior advantages, they were enabled, for a long time, to prevent the attempts of other nations to interfere in the Indian trade, or to make them abortive. The produce of this rich country came to the Europeans through the hands of the Dutch; who never experienced thoſe reſtraints from their country, which have in later times been impoſed every where elſe. The government, convinced that the proceedings of other nations neither ought, nor could be a rule to direct theirs, always gave the company leave to diſpoſe of their merchandiſe at the capital freely, and without reſerve. At the time this ſociety was inſtituted, the United Provinces had neither any manufactures nor crude materials to work upon. It was, therefore, no inconvenience, but rather a point of great policy, to allow, and even encourage, the citizens to wear linens and ſtuffs imported from India. The various manufactures which were introduced into the republic, in conſequence of the repeal of the edict of Nantz, might have induced them to lay aſide the thoughts of purchaſing their cloathing from

ſo remote a country; but the fondneſs that prevailed in Europe at that time for French faſhions, had given ſo advantageous an opening for the manufactures of the refugees, that they had not the leaſt idea of departing from the ancient channel. Since the high price of labour, the neceſſary conſequence of a redundancy of money, has leſſened the manufactures, and obliged the nation to trade upon a frugal plan, India ſtuffs have had a greater run than ever. It was thought that fewer inconveniences would ariſe from enriching the Indians than the Engliſh or French, whoſe proſperity would not fail to haſten the ruin of a ſtate, the opulence of which is only ſupported by the raſhneſs, the diſputes, or indolence of other powers.

THIS wiſe conduct has retarded the decline of the company; but the change is at laſt effected, notwithſtanding the flattering illuſions of an imaginary proſperity. A detail of facts will ſet this truth in a clear light.

WE have ſeen that the original fund of the company, which has never been ſince augmented, was no more than 12,919,680 livres*. With this ſlender capital, they attacked the Spaniads and Portugueſe in the Indian ſeas, gained conqueſts over theſe, then warlike nations, and over the people of Aſia, whoſe numbers, at leaſt rendered them formidable; they formed magazines, built cities, and erected forts without number; and eſtabliſhed or ſupported their com-

* 565,2361.

merce

merce by force of arms. Theſe amazing expences laſted from the firſt inſtitution of the company till the year 1665, the æra when all their acquiſitions were made, all their ſettlements formed. During this long and reſtleſs period, the annual returns amounted to twenty and three-fourths per cent.

THE company had afterwards no occaſion to ſend one fleet after another into the eaſt, to aſſert the dominion of thoſe ſeas, to raiſe new armies to ſubdue or awe their enemies, or to laviſh their blood and treaſure in ſecuring their poſſeſſions. Their operations were only thoſe of a briſk and advantageous commerce; and, conſequently, their dividend, till the year 1728 increaſed to about three and twenty per cent. It has ſince that time gradually fallen to twenty, fifteen, and even lower. A further reduction will in all probability take place, and we ſhall now ſtate the reaſons upon which this conjecture is founded.

It is demonſtrated, that at the cloſing of the books in 1751, the capital of the company in India did not amount to more than 71,000,000 livres*, the fleet that was on its way to Europe ſtood them in 19,200,000†, and the veſſels fitted out for India in 3,000,000 of livres‡. They had a debt of 14,000,000 of livres§ in India, and were 22,400,000 livres‖ in arrears in Europe. Conſequently the ſtock of the com-

* 3,106,250l. † 840,000l. ‡ 131,250l.
§ 612,500l. ‖ 980,000l.

pany

pany, exclusive of their fortifications, did not exceed 56,800,000 livres*.

Of this sum, inconsiderable as it was, there were only 23,400,000 livres† in commercial effects; that is to say, ready money, merchandise, and good debts. The remainder consisted of bad debts to the amount of 3,000,000 ‡, and of doubtful ones to the amount of 6,600,000 livres §; 8,000,000 livres¶ allotted for provision for the table; 1,400,000** for brass cannon; for iron ordnance, bullets, and balls, 500,000††; for muskets and ammunition 1,800,000 ‡‡; for plate 200,000 §§; for slaves 300,000 ¶¶; for cattle and horses 200,000 ***; and for goods entered from different parts of India for Batavia 11,200,000 livres †††.

It remains to examine what profits the company have been able to make with so weak a capital. Their gains, as far as it is possible to compute them, annually amount to 25,400,000 livres ‡‡‡, but their ordinary expences amount to 18,600,000 §§§, and their dividend, supposing it to be twenty-five per cent. to 3,330,000 ¶¶¶; consequently they have only 470,000**** livres remaining, to defray the expences of war, the loss of their magazines by fire, or their vessels by sea, and all that train of evils which human prudence can neither foresee nor prevent.

* 2,485,000 l.
§ 288,750 l.
†† 21,875 l.
¶¶ 13,125 l
‡‡‡ 1,111,250 l.
**** 20,562 l. 10s.
† 1,023,750 l.
¶ 350,000 l.
‡‡ 78,700 l.
*** 8,750 l.
§§§ 813,750 l.
‡ 131,250 l.
** 61,250 l.
§§ 8,750 l.
††† 490,000 l.
¶¶¶ 145,687 l. 10s.

THIS ſtate of the matter muſt appear to thoſe who ſee things at a diſtance to have ſo little probability, that we ſhould not have ventured to warrant the truth of it, if we had not before us governor-general Moſſel's correſpondence with the direction. This diſcerning and able adminiſtrator conſiders the company as an exhauſted body that is ſuſtained by cordials: it is, as he expreſſes himſelf, a leaky veſſel, that is kept from foundering only by the pump.

THIS deplorable ſituation, which will reduce the company to the neceſſity of borrowing money upon their capital, or of leſſening their dividend ſtill more, if any new misfortune ſhould happen, muſt have had its cauſes, and thoſe too very conſiderable. The moſt obvious of all is the multitude of petty wars which have followed each other without interruption.

Reaſons of the decline of the company.

THE inhabitants of the Moluccas had ſcarce recovered from the aſtoniſhment into which they had been thrown by the victories gained by the Dutch over a people whom they looked upon as invincible, when they grew impatient of the yoke. The company, dreading the conſequences of this diſcontent, made war upon the king of Ternate, to oblige him to conſent to the extirpation of the clove-tree every where except in Amboyna. The iſlanders in Banda were utterly exterminated, becauſe they refuſed to become their ſlaves. Macaſſar, in order to ſupport their intereſts, kept up a conſiderable force for a long time. The loſs of Formoſa brought on the ruin of the factories of Tonkin and Siam.

They

They were obliged to take up arms to ſupport the excluſive trade of Sumatra. Malacca was beſieged, its territory ravaged, and its navigation interrupted by pirates. Negapatan was twice attacked; Cochin was engaged in reſiſting the attempts of the kings of Calicut and Travancor; Ceylon has been a ſcene of perpetual diſturbances; which are full as frequent, and ſtill more violent at Java, where peace can never continue long, unleſs the company will give a reaſonable price for the commodities they require. They have engaged in bloody conteſts with an European nation, whoſe power in India increaſes every day, and whoſe character is not that of moderation. All theſe wars have proved ruinous, more ruinous indeed, than might have been expected, becauſe thoſe who had the management of them only ſought opportunities of enriching themſelves.

These notorious diſſenſions have in many places been followed by odious oppreſſions; which have been practiſed at Japan, China, Cambodia, Arracan, on the banks of the Ganges, at Achem, Coromandel, Surat in Perſia, at Baſſora, Mocho, and other places. Moſt of the countries in India are filled with tyrants who prefer piracy to commerce, who acknowledge no right but that of power, and think that whatever is practicable, is juſt.

The profits accruing to the company from the places where their trade met with no interruption, for a long time counterbalanced the loſſes they ſuſtained in others by tyranny or anarchy; but other European nations deprived them of this indemni-

indemnification. This competition obliged them to buy dearer, and to ſell cheaper. Their natural advantages might, perhaps, have enabled them to ſupport this misfortune, if their rivals had not determined to throw the trade carried on from India to India into the hands of private merchants. By this expreſſion we are to underſtand the operations neceſſary to tranſport the merchandiſe of one country in Aſia to another; from China, Bengal, and Surat, for inſtance, to the Phillippines, Perſia, and Arabia. By means of this circulation, and by a multiplicity of exchanges, the Dutch obtained for nothing, or for a triſle, the rich cargoes they brought to Europe. The activity, œconomy and ſkill of the free merchants drove the company from all the ſea-ports where equal favour was ſhewn. Their flag was ſeldom ſeen in the roads where eight or ten Engliſh veſſels appeared.

THIS revolution, which ſo clearly pointed out to them what ſteps they had to take, did not ſet them right with reſpect to a meaſure that was deſtructive to trade. They had been accuſtomed to carry all their Indian and European merchandiſe to Batavia, from whence it was diſtributed among the different factories who ſold it to advantage. This cuſtom occaſioned expence and loſs of time, the inconveniences of which were not perceived while their profits were ſo enormous. When other nations carried on a direct trade, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, not only bad in itſelf, but imcompatible with circumſtances. The dominion of cuſtom, however, ſtill

prevails; and it was ſaid to be owing to the company's apprehenſions that their ſervants would make an ill uſe of any innovation, that they did not adopt a meaſure, the neceſſity of which was ſo fully demonſtrated.

This motive was probably nothing more than a pretext which ſerved as a cover to private intereſt. The frauds of the commiſſaries were more than winked at. The chief of them had for the moſt part been exact in their conduct. They were under the direction of admirals who viſited all the factories, were inveſted with abſolute powers in India, and, at the concluſion of every voyage, gave an account in Europe of their adminiſtration. In proportion as the government became leſs active, the agents, who were not ſo ſtrictly watched, grew more remiſs. They abandoned themſelves to effeminacy, a habit of which is eaſily contracted in hot countries. It became neceſſary to increaſe the number of theſe agents: and no one made a capital point of correcting an abuſe, which gave the people in power an opportunity of providing for their dependents. They went to Aſia with a view of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Being prohibited from trading, their appointments not being ſufficient to maintain them, and all honeſt ways of enriching themſelves being ſhut againſt them, they had recourſe to mal-practices. The company were cheated in all their affairs by factors who had no intereſt in their proſperity. Theſe diſorders grew to ſuch a height, that it was propoſed to allow a premium of

of five per cent. upon all commodities ſold or bought, which was to be divided among all the ſervants according to their ranks. Upon theſe terms, they were obliged to take an oath that their account was juſt. This arrangement laſted but five years; it being found that corruption prevailed as much as ever: the premium and the oath were aboliſhed; and from this period the agents aſk any conſideration for their trouble that their avarice dictates.

The contagion, which at firſt infected the lower factories, gradually reached the principal ſettlements, and, at laſt, Batavia itſelf. So great a ſimplicity of manners prevailed there at firſt, that the members of the government uſually dreſſed like common ſailors, and never wore decent cloaths but in their council-chamber. This modeſty was accompanied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a probity, that before the year 1650, not one remarkable fortune had been made; but this unheard-of prodigy of virtue could not be of long duration. We have ſeen warlike republics conquer and make acquiſitions for their country, and fill the public treaſury with the ſpoils of kingdoms. But we ſhall never ſee the citizens of a commercial republic amaſs riches for a particular body in the ſtate, from which they derive neither glory nor profit. The auſterity of republican principles muſt of courſe give place to the example of the people of the eaſt. This relaxation of manners was more ſenſibly perceived in the capital of the colony, where the articles of luxury that came from all parts, and the air of magnificence it was thought neceſſary to throw

round the adminiſtration, introduced a taſte for ſhew. This taſte occaſioned a corruption of manners; and this corruption of manners made all methods of getting money alike indifferent. Even the appearance of decency was ſo far diſregarded, that a governor-general finding himſelf convicted of plundering the finances without mercy, made no ſcruple of juſtifying his conduct by ſhewing a carte blanche ſigned by the company.

How could the conduct of the governors be remedied when their depravation could not be foreſeen in the infancy of the republic, where a purity of manners and frugality prevailed? In theſe ſettlements of the Dutch, the laws had been made for virtuous men; other manners required other laws.

THESE diſorders might have been repreſſed in their firſt beginnings, if they had not naturally made the ſame progreſs in Europe as in Aſia. But as a river that overflows its banks collects more mud than water in its paſſage, ſo the vices which riches bring along with them, increaſe faſter than riches themſelves. The poſt of director, which was at firſt allotted to able merchants, was, at length, veſted in great families, where it is held with the magiſtracies, by virtue of which it was firſt procured. Theſe families, engaged in political views, or in the ſervice of adminiſtration, conſidered theſe poſts, which they had raviſhed from the company, only in the light of a conſiderable income, or an eaſy proviſion for their relations; ſome of them even as opportunities of making a bad uſe of their credit. The buſineſs of

receiving accounts, hearing debates and carrying on the moſt important tranſactions of the company, was left to a ſecretary, who, under the plauſible title of advocate, became the ſole manager of all the affairs. The governors, who met but twice a-year, in ſpring and autumn, at the arrival and departure of the fleets, forgot the habit and track of all buſineſs which requires a conſtant attention. They were obliged to repoſe an entire confidence in a perſon appointed by the ſtate to make extracts from all the diſpatches that arrived from India, and to draw up the form of the anſwers that were to be returned. This guide, who was ſometimes incapable, often bribed, and always ſuſpicious, frequently led thoſe whom he conducted to the brink of a precipice where he left them to fall.

The ſpirit of commerce ariſes from intereſt, and intereſt always occaſions diſputes. Each chamber wanted to have docks, arſenals, and magazines, for the ſhips it was to fit out. Offices were multiplied, and frauds were encouraged by ſo wrong a proceeding.

It was a maxim in every department to furniſh goods, as it had a right to do, in proportion to the number of its ſhips. Theſe goods were not alike proper for the places for which they were deſtined, and were either not ſold at all, or ſold to diſadvantage.

When circumſtances called for extraordinary ſupplies, a ſpirit of puerile vanity, which is afraid of betraying its weakneſs by confeſſing its wants, led them to avoid borrowing money in Holland, where they would have paid only an intereſt of three per cent. and to have recourſe to Batavia,

where money was at ſix, or more frequently to Bengal, or the coaſt of Coromandel, where it was at nine per cent. and ſometimes much higher. Abuſes were multiplied on all ſides.

THE ſtates-general, whoſe buſineſs it was to examine, every three years, into the ſtate of the company; to ſatisfy themſelves that they kept within the limits aſſigned by their grant; to ſee that juſtice was adminiſtered to the perſons concerned; and that the trade was carried on in a manner that was not prejudicial to the republic; ſhould have put a ſtop to theſe irregularities, and ought to have done it. Whatever their reaſons might be, this was never accompliſhed. In conſequence of this behaviour, they had the mortification to ſee the proprietors unite in conferring upon the laſt ſtadtholder the ſupreme direction of their affairs in Europe and India; without being aware of the danger that might reſult from the influence that a perpetual preſident of the ſtate muſt have over a rich and powerful body. Notwithſtanding this, the dividend is at this time larger, and the price of ſtocks higher. A certain premature death has drawn a veil over the plan of reformation that had been concerted. Neceſſity will oblige them to reſume it, with ſuch wiſe precautions, no doubt, as may prevent the abuſe of that power, againſt which they think themſelves bound to proteſt.

Meaſures that remain to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of the company's affairs.

THE firſt ſtep muſt be, to convince themſelves that the government of the company is too complicated even in Europe. A direction veſted in ſo many chambers, and in ſuch a number of directors,

rectors, muſt be attended with infinite inconveniences. It is impoſſible that the ſame ſpirit ſhould operate every where alike, and that the tranſactions ſhould be carried on without receiving a tincture from the oppoſite views of the perſons who conduct them in different places, without concert or connection. Unity of deſign, ſo neceſſary in the fine arts, is equally advantageous in buſineſs. It will be in vain objected, that it is the intereſt of all democratical ſtates to divide their wealth, and to make the eſtates of the citizens as equal as poſſible. This maxim, in itſelf true, is not applicable to a republic that has no territory, and maintains itſelf merely by its commerce. It will therefore be expedient that every article bought or ſold ſhould fall under one general inſpection, and be brought into one port. The ſavings that would be made, would be the leaſt advantage the company would receive from this alteration.

FROM this place, which would be the center of intelligence from all quarters, deputations might be ſent to enquire into, and correct abuſes in the remoteſt parts of Aſia. The conduct of the Dutch towards the Indian princes, from whom they have forcibly extorted an excluſive commerce, will be one of the firſt objects of their conſideration. They have, for a long time, behaved towards them with an inſolent pride; have attempted to learn the ſecrets of their government; and to engage them in quarrels with their neighbours; they have fomented diviſions among their ſubjects, and ſhewn a diſtruſt mixed with animoſity; they have obliged

them to make ſacrifices which they never promiſed; and deprived them of advantages ſecured to them by the terms of capitulation. All theſe intolerable acts of tyranny, occaſion frequent diſturbances, which ſometimes end in hoſtilities. To reſtore harmony, which is a taſk that grows more neceſſary and more difficult every day, agents ſhould be appointed, who to a ſpirit of moderation join a knowledge of the intereſts, cuſtoms, language, religion, and manners of theſe nations. At preſent, perhaps, the company may be unprovided with perſons of this character: but it concerns them to procure them. Perhaps too they might find them among the ſuperintendents of their factories, which they have every reaſon to induce them to abandon.

THE diſcerning part of the merchants of all nations unanimouſly agree, that the Dutch ſettlements in India are too numerous: and that by leſſening their number, they would greatly reduce their expences, without confining their commerce. The company cannot poſſibly be ignorant of what is ſo generally known. One would be apt to think, they were induced to continue the factories that were chargeable to them, to prevent a ſuſpicion that they were not in a condition to maintain them. But this weak conſideration ſhould ſway them no longer. All that deſerves their attention, is to make a due diſtinction between what it is convenient to part with, and advantageous to retain. They have before them a ſeries of facts and experiments, which muſt prevent any miſtake in an arrangement of ſuch importance.

IN

In the ſubordinate factories, which they may think proper to continue for the advantage of trade, they will demoliſh all uſeleſs fortifications; they will diſſolve the councils eſtabliſhed from motives of oſtentation rather than neceſſity; and they will proportion the number of their ſervants to the extent of their buſineſs. Let the company call to mind thoſe happy times, when two or three factors choſen with judgment, ſent out cargoes infinitely more conſiderable than any they have received ſince; when they raiſed amazing profits upon their goods, which, in proceſs of time, have been diverted into the pockets of their numerous agents; and then they will not heſitate a moment to return to their old maxims, and to prefer a ſimplicity which made them rich, to an empty parade that ruins them. Theſe diſorders were owing to their own miſconduct. The Europeans, ſettled in their colonies, lived in diſgrace if they were not engaged in their ſervice. Every expedient was tried to extricate themſelves from a ſtate of humiliation which it was impoſſible to endure. The ſuperintendents ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted; and employments were multiplied without neceſſity and without meaſure Let them diſcountenance a prejudice, which in whatever light it is viewed, is unjuſt and prenicious; and the reformation we are pointing out will eaſily be accompliſhed.

It will be attended with greater difficulties in the large colonies. The company's agents there are a more numerous, reputable, and in proportion a more opulent body, and conſequently leſs diſpoſed to ſubmit to any regulations. It is, however,

ever, neceſſary to reduce them to order, ſince the abuſes they have either introduced, or winked at, muſt ſooner or later inevitably bring on the ruin of the intereſts over which they preſide. The miſmanagement that prevails in the manufactories, magazines, docks, and arſenals at Batavia, and other large ſettlements, is ſcarcely to be paralleled. The mal-practices of the ſuperintendents and ſubordinate officers are ſo notorious, that according to the moſt favourable repreſentations, at leaſt two-thirds might be ſaved if the buildings, works and repairs were executed by contract.

THESE arrangements would lead to others ſtill more conſiderable. At their firſt riſe, the company eſtabliſhed fixed and preciſe rules, which were not to be departed from on any pretence, or on any occaſion whatſoever. Their ſervants were mere machines, the ſmalleſt movements of which were wound up before-hand. They judged this abſolute and univerſal direction neceſſary to correct what was amiſs in the choice of their agents, who were moſt of them drawn out of obſcurity, and had not the advantage of that careful education which would have enlarged their ideas. The company themſelves did not ſuffer the leaſt variation in their own conduct, and to this invariable uniformity they attributed the ſucceſs of their enterprizes. The frequent misfortunes, which this ſyſtem occaſioned, did not prevail with them to lay it aſide; and they always adhered obſtinately to their firſt plan. In this they were not guided by reflection, but followed

followed a blind impulſe. At this time of the day, when they can no longer commit errors with impunity, it is neceſſary they ſhould make ſome alterations. Tired of maintaining a diſadvantageous ſtruggle with the free traders of other nations, they ſhould reſolve to leave the commerce from one part of India to another, to private perſons. This happy innovation would make their colonies richer and more powerful. They themſelves would reap more advantage from the cuſtoms that would be paid in their factories, than they receive from the faint efforts of an expiring commerce. Every thing, even the ſhips that are too old to be ſent to Europe, would turn to account. The navigators in theſe ſettlements would be glad to make uſe of them in thoſe calm ſeas.

PERHAPS the company might carry the plan of reformation ſtill further. Would it not be a proper ſcheme to reſign the trade of linens exported to Europe to individuals? Thoſe who are acquainted with their tranſactions, know very well that they gain no more than thirty per cent. by this article, which is always ſold to them at a dear rate by their agents, though it is bought with their own money. If we deduct from this profit, the averages, the intereſt of advance-money, the ſalaries of the commiſſaries, and the hazards at ſea, the remainder will be very trifling. Would not twenty per cent. freight, which the free merchants would readily give, be of greater advantage to the company?

THEY

THEY would then be releaſed from the cares and reſtraints of their preſent commerce, and the port of Batavia would be open to all nations, who would load their ſhips with the merchandiſe of Europe; with the goods bought by the company, at a low price, of the India princes, with whom they carry on an excluſive trade; and with the ſpices deſtined for all the ſea-ports in Aſia, where the conſumption would neceſſarily increaſe. The ſacrifice they would make to the general freedom of trade, would be amply rewarded by the certain, eaſy and advantageous ſale of ſpices in Europe. The progreſs of corruption would be ſtopt by adhering to ſo plain a rule of adminiſtration; and order would be eſtabliſhed on ſuch firm grounds, that it would require but little care to preſerve it.

THE neceſſity of making the internal arrangements we propoſe, is ſo much the more urgent, as the company are in imminent danger of loſing the conſtituent part of their power, and of having their ſpice trade taken from them.

IT is confidently reported, that the clove-tree is no longer to be found any where but at Amboyna; but this is a miſtake. Before the Dutch got poſſeſſion of the Moluccas, properly ſo called, all the iſlands in this archipelago were covered with theſe trees: they ordered them to be pulled up, and continue to ſend two ſloops, each having twelve ſoldiers on board, with orders to deſtroy them wherever they make their appearance. But not to lay any ſtreſs here upon the baſeneſs of ſuch avarice, which counteracts the bounty

bounty of nature, theſe extirpators, with all their induſtry, can only execute their commiſſion upon the coaſt. Were three hundred men to be continually employed in traverſing the foreſts, they would not be able fully to anſwer the intention of their employers. The earth rebels againſt this deſtation, and ſeems to reſiſt the wickedneſs of men. The clove ſprings up under the inſtrument that deſtroys it, and mocks the unfeeling induſtry of the Dutch, who wiſh to ſee nothing grow but for themſelves. The Engliſh that are ſettled at Sumatra have, for ſome years, ſent cloves to their mother-country, which they obtain from the inhabitants of Bali, who gather them in places where, it is pretended, they no longer exiſt.

It is equally a miſtake that the nutmeg-tree is confined to Banda: it grows in New Guinea, and in the iſlands that lie near that coaſt. The Malays, the only people who held any correſpondence with theſe fierce nations, have carried the produce of this tree to Batavia; the precautions that have been taken to conceal the knowledge of this fact have only ſerved the more fully to confirm it; and its truth is ſupported by ſo many atteſtations, that it is impoſſible to entertain a doubt of it.

If, however, the certainty of theſe facts ſhould be called in queſtion; if either habit or tradition ſhould make it believed that the Spaniards ſettled at the Philippine iſlands could not, with great advantage to themſelves, eaſily procure the clove and nutmeg-tree; it muſt on all hands be acknow-

knowledged, that, in theſe remote ſeas, an event has happened, which merits a ſerious attention. The ſtrait of Lombok has been diſcovered by the Engliſh: in conſequence of this diſcovery, they have penetrated as far as Saffara, which lies between New Guinea and the Molucca iſlands. This iſland is found to be in the ſame latitude, to have the ſame ſoil, and the ſame climate, with thoſe that porduce the ſpices, and they have formed a ſettlement upon it. Is it credible that this active and perſevering nation will loſe ſight of the only object they can propoſe to themſelves from this ſituation? or that they will be diſcouraged by the obſtacles they may meet with? Could we ſuppoſe the company ſo little acquainted with the character of their rivals, their ſituation would no longer be doubtful; it would be deſperate.

SETTING aſide this conteſt between trading intereſts, the Dutch have reaſon to be apprehenſive of one of a ſlower and more deſtructive kind. All circumſtances, particularly their manner of conducting their forces both by ſea and land, conſpire to invite their enemies to attack them.

THE company have a fleet of about a hundred ſhips, from ſix hundred to a thouſand tons burthen. Twenty-eight or thirty are annually ſent out from Europe, and a ſmaller number returns. Thoſe that are not in a condition to return, make voyages in India, where the ſeas, except thoſe in the neighbourhood of Japan, are ſo calm, that weaker veſſels may ſail in them with ſafety. In times of profound peace the ſhips ſail ſeparately, but

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on their return they always form two fleets at the Cape, which paſs by the Orcades, where two ſhips belonging to the Republic wait to convoy them to Holland. In time of war this detour was contrived to avoid the enemy's privateers; and they continue to make uſe of it in time of peace, to prevent contraband trade. It was found difficult to procure ſailors who would encounter the cold blaſts of the north, after being uſed to hot climates; but this difficulty was ſurmounted, by offering two months pay extraordinary. This cuſtom has been continued even when contrary winds and ſtorms drove the fleets into the channel. The chamber of Amſterdam attempted but once to ſuppreſs it; but they were in danger of being burnt by the populace, who, like the reſt of the nation, diſapproved of the arbitrary proceedings of the company, and lamented their excluſive privilege. The company's navy is commanded by officers who were originally ſailors or cabin-boys; they are qualified for pilots, and for working a ſhip, but they have not the leaſt notion of naval evolutions; not to mention, that from the defects of their education they can have no idea of the love of glory, or of inculcating it into that claſs of men who are under their command.

THEIR conduct is ſtill worſe with regard to their land forces. Soldiers who have deſerted from every nation in Europe may, indeed, be expected not to want courage; but their proviſion and cloathing is ſo bad, and they are ſo much haraſſed, that they have an averſion for the

the ſervice. The officers, who, for the moſt part originally belonged to ſome low profeſſion, in which they got a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe their poſts, are incapable of infuſing into them a military ſpirit. The contempt in which a people purely commercial hold thoſe whoſe ſituation dooms them to an involuntary poverty, together with their averſion for war, contributes greatly to degrade and diſpirit them. To theſe ſeveral cauſes of their inactivity, weakneſs, and want of diſcipline, may be ſubjoined another, which is equally applicable both to the land and ſea ſervice.

THERE is not, perhaps, in the moſt ſlaviſh governments ſo diſhonourable and iniquitous a mode of raiſing ſeamen and ſoldiers, as that which has, for a long time, been practiſed by the company. Their agents, called by the people *vendeurs d'ames* (kidnappers), who are always buſy in the territories, and even beyond the boundaries of the republic, make it their employment to entice credulous men to embark for India, in hopes of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Thoſe who are allured by the bait are enrolled, and receive two months pay, which is always given to their betrayer. They enter into an engagement of three hundred livres*, which is the profit of the perſon that enliſts them, who is obliged by this agreement to furniſh them with ſome clothes worth about a tenth part of that ſum. The debt is

* 13l. 12s. 6d.

ſecured

ſecured by one of the company's bills, but it is never paid unleſs the debtor lives long enough to diſcharge it out of his pay.

A COMPANY which ſupports itſelf, notwithſtanding this contempt for the military order, and with ſoldiers ſo corrupted, ſhould enable us to determine the progreſs which the arts of negociation have made in theſe latter ages. It has ever been neceſſary to ſupply the want of ſtrength by treaties, by patience, by moderation, and by artifice; but republicans ſhould be well informed, that ſuch a ſtate can only be a precarious one, and that political meaſures, how well ſoever they may be combined, are not always able to reſiſt the torrent of violence and the neceſſity of circumſtances. The company ſhould have troops compoſed of citizens, which is by no means impoſſible. It never can inſpire that public ſpirit, that enthuſiaſm for glory which it has not itſelf. In this reſpect it is the ſame with a company as with a governmet, which ought to form its troops upon thoſe principles only that are the baſis of its own conſtitution. Oeconomy and the deſire of gain are the principles of adminiſtration adopted by the company. Theſe are the motives that ſhould attach the ſoldier to their ſervice. As he is engaged in commercial expeditions, he ſhould be aſſured of a reward proportioned to the means he hath exerted in forwarding their ſucceſs, and his pay ſhould be made out to him in ſtock. Then perſonal intereſts, far from weakening the general intentions, will only ſerve to ſtrengthen them.

If theſe reflections ſhould not prevail upon the company to alter this important part of their adminiſtration, let them at leaſt be awakened by the proſpect of the dangers that threaten them. If they were attacked in India, they would be deprived of their ſettlements there in leſs time than they have employed in wreſting them from the Portugueſe. Their beſt towns have neither covert ways nor glacis, nor outworks, and would not hold out a week. They are never ſtocked with proviſions, though they are always filled with warlike ſtores. There are not more than ten thouſand men, whites and blacks, to defend them, and their ſhould be double that number. Theſe diſadvantages would not be compenſated by the reſources of the navy. The company has not a ſingle veſſel of the line in all its ports, and it would be impoſſible to arm the merchantmen as ſhips of war. The largeſt of thoſe that return to Europe have not one hundred men; and if the men diſperſed in all the ſhips that ſail to India were collected, there would not be a ſufficient number to form one ſingle ſhip's crew. Any man accuſtomd to calculate probable events would not ſcruple to ſay, that the power of the Dutch might be annihilated in Aſia, before the ſtate could come to the aſſiſtance of the company. The only baſis upon which this apparently gigantic Coloſſus is fixed, is the Molucca iſlands. Six men of war and fifteen hundred land forces would be more than ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt of them, which might be effected either by the French or the Engliſh

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If the French ſhould form this enterprize, their ſquadron might ſail from the iſle of France, and bear down upon Ternate, where a commencement of hoſtilities would give the firſt intelligence of its arrival in thoſe ſeas. A fort without outworks, and which might be battered from the ſhips, would not make much reſiſtance. Amboyna, which formerly had a rampart, a bad ditch, and four ſmall baſtions, has been ſo frequently ſubverted by earthquakes, that it cannot be in a condition to put a ſtop to an enterpriſing enemy for two days. Banda has its peculiar difficulties. There is no bottom round theſe iſlands, and there are ſuch violent currents, that if two or three channels which lead up to it were miſſed, the veſſels would be unavoidably carried away under the wind. But this might be eaſily prevented by the pilots of Amboyna. There is nothing more to attack than a wall without a ditch, or a covert way, defended only by four baſtions in bad condition. A ſmall fort erected upon an eminence that commands the place, could not defend itſelf four and twenty hours.

All thoſe who have ſeen the Moluccas, and examined them attentively, agree, that they would not hold out one month againſt the forces we have mentioned. If, as it is probable, the garriſons, which are not half ſo numerous as they ought to be, and exaſperated with the manner in which they are treated, ſhould refuſe to fight, or ſhould make but a feeble reſiſtance, the conqueſt would be more rapid. To ſecure it as firm-

ly as it deſerves, it would be neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Batavia; a circumſtance not ſo difficult as it may ſeem to be. The ſquadron, with the ſoldiers that were not left in garriſon, and as many of the Dutch troops as ſhould have joined the conqueror, with a timely reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men, would infallibly accompliſh this enterpriſe, of which we ſhall be convinced if we have a juſt idea of Batavia.

The moſt common obſtacle to the beſieging of maritime places is the difficulty of landing; which is by no means the caſe at the capital of Java. Governor-general Imhoff, who was apprized of this circumſtance, attempted in vain to remedy it, by conſtructing a fort at the mouth of the river which embelliſhes the city. If theſe works, erected at a great expence by perſons of no ſkill, had even been brought to perfection, they would not have improved the ſituation much: the landing, which would have been made impracticable in one place, would always have been open by means of ſeveral rivers that empty themſelves into the road, and are all navigable by ſloops.

The troops being once formed upon land would find nothing but an immence city without a covert way, defended by a rampart, and by ſome low and irregular baſtions, ſurrounded by a ditch formed on one ſide by a river, and on the other by ſome marſhy canals, which might eaſily be filled with running water; it was formerly defended by a citadel; but Imhoff, by building between the city and this fortreſs ſome extenſive

and high barracks, intercepted the communication. He was afterwards told of this blunder, and could think of no better way of rectifying it, than to demoliſh two half baſtions of the fortreſs, looking towards the city. Since that time they have been joined to each other.

But if the fortifications were as perfect as they are bad; if the artillery, which is immenſe, were directed by men of judgment; if even Cohorn or Vauban were ſubſtituted in the room of thoſe unſkilful perſons, who have now the charge of their works, the place could not hold out. It would require at leaſt four thouſand men to defend it, and their are ſeldom more than ſix hundred. Neither indeed are the Dutch ſo ignorant as to place their confidence in ſo feeble a garriſon: they depend much more upon the inundations they are able to raiſe by opening the ſluices that confine ſeveral ſmall rivers. They imagine that theſe inundations would retard the operations of the ſiege, and would deſtroy the beſiegers by the diſtempers they would occaſion. With a little more reflection they would diſcover, that the place muſt ſurrender, before theſe drainings had taken effect.

The plan of conqueſt that France might form, would equally ſuit the intereſt of Great Britain; with this difference, that the Engliſh would in the firſt place make themſelves maſters of the Cape of Good Hope, an excellent harbour, which they are in want of for their voyages to India.

The Cape may be attacked in two places: the firſt is Table Bay, at the extremity of which

the fort is ſituated. It is an open road, where the violence of the ſea is broken only by a ſmall iſland, and is ſo bad in the months of June, July, Auguſt, and September, that in 1722 twenty-five ſhips were loſt there, and ſeven in 1736. Though all navigators prefer it in the other ſeaſons of the year, on account of the accommodations they find there, it is probable that a landing would not be attempted here, becauſe the two ſides of the harbour are covered with batteries, which it would be hazardous, and, perhaps, impoſſible to ſilence. Falſe Bay would undoubtedly be preferable, which though at thirty leagues diſtance from the former by ſea, is yet no more than three leagues from the capital on the land ſide. The landing would be effected quietly in this place of ſecurity, and the troops would gain, without oppoſition, an eminence which commands the fort. As this citadel, in other reſpects confined, is only defended by a garriſon of three or four hundred men at moſt, it might be reduced in leſs than a day's time by a few bombs. The inhabitants of the colony diſperſed throughout an immenſe ſpace, and ſeparated from each other by deſerts, would not have time to come to its relief. Perhaps, they would not if it were even in their power. We may be allowed to ſuppoſe that the oppreſſion under which they groan, may make them wiſh for a change of government. The loſs of the Cape would, perhaps, render it impoſſible for the company to con-

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vey to India the ſuccours neceſſary for the defence of their ſettlements, or would at leaſt make thoſe ſuccours leſs certain and more expenſive. The Engliſh, on the contrary, would draw great conveniences, and even immenſe advantages from this conqueſt, if the ſpirit of monopoly, which reaſon and humanity will always oppoſe, could once be laid aſide.

The Britiſh colonies of North America have iron, wood, rice, ſugar, and various other articles of conſumption, which the Cape is entirely without. They might be conveyed thither, and wines and brandy received in exchange. The ſoil and climate of this part of Africa are ſo favourable to the cultivation of the vine, that an immenſe extent of land may be allotted to it. If a regular conſumption could be eſtabliſhed, we ſhould ſoon ſee a ſpace of two hundred leagues covered with vineyards. Toleration, and the mildneſs of the government; the proſpect of a comfortable ſituation would attract cultivators from all quarters. They would ſoon be in a condition to furniſh wholeſome and agreeable liquors in plenty to Britiſh America, and, perhaps, the metropolis itſelf might one day be ſupplied from the ſame plentiful ſource with wine, which it unwillingly purchaſes from France.

If the republic of Holland ſhould not conſider as imaginary the dangers to which our love of the general good of nations makes us apprehend her commerce may be expoſed, ſhe ought to omit no precaution to prevent them. She muſt conſtantly keep in mind, that the company, from its beginning to the year 1722, has received about fifteen

fifteen hundred ſhips, the freight of which amounted in India to 703,366,000 livres *, and has been ſold in Europe for double that ſum: that by ſending 6,000,000 of livres † into India, annual returns of 40,000,000 ‡ are procured, only the fifth part of which at moſt is conſumed in the united provinces; that at the renewal of each grant, the company has given conſiderable ſums to the republic; that it has aſſiſted the ſtate whenever it has ſtood in need of aſſiſtance; that it has raiſed a multitude of private fortunes, which have prodigiouſly increaſed the riches of the nation; in ſhort, that it has doubled, perhaps trebled the activity of the metropolis, by furniſhing it with frequent opportunities of forming great enterpriſes.

THE company uſually pay to the ſtate duties of import for all the merchandiſe they receive from India. By a regulation of the 10th of July 1677, they are annually to pay 32,000 livres § in lieu of the duties of export. They obtained the renewal of their grant in 1743, with this formal ſtipulation, that the republic ſhould receive three per cent. upon the dividend. It is thought, however, that the government have a right to derive greater advantages from an excluſive privilege of ſuch importance.

IT has always been acknowledged by all nations, whatever the form of their government might be, that the eſtates acquired in any country ought to contribute to the expences of government.

* 30,772,162 l. 10s. † 262,500 l. ‡ 1,750,000 l.
§ 1,400 l.

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The reaſon of this grand maxim is evident to all capacities. Private fortunes are ſo eſſentially connected with the proſperity of the public, that when the latter is injured the former muſt ſuffer of courſe. Thus, when the ſubjects of a ſtate ſerve it with their fortunes or their perſons, they do nothing but defend their own private intereſt. The proſperity of the country is the proſperity of each citizen. This maxim, which is true in all governments, has a particular propriety when applied to free ſocieties.

Further than this, there are bodies of men, whoſe intereſt, either from the nature of thoſe bodies, their extenſive relations, or the variety of their views, are more eſſentially connected with the common intereſt. Of this kind is the India company in Holland. The enemies to its trade are enemies to the republic; and its ſecurity is eſtabliſhed on the ſame baſis with that of the ſtate.

In the opinion of men of the beſt diſcernment, the national debt has ſenſibly weakened the United Provinces, and affected the general welfare, by gradually increaſing the load of taxes. The republic can never be reſtored to its original ſplendor, till it is releaſed from the enormous burthen under which it groans; and this relief can only be expected from a company, which it has always encouraged, protected and favoured. To place this powerful body in a ſituation to render the higheſt ſervices to the country, it will by no means be neceſſary to reduce the profits of the proprietors; it will be

ſufficient to bring it back to thoſe principles of œconomy and ſimplicity, and to that plan of adminiſtration, which laid the foundation of its early proſperity.

Formergood conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy.

A REFORMATION ſo neceſſary will admit of no delay. This confidence is due to a government which has always endeavoured to maintain a great number of citizens within itſelf, and to employ only a ſmall part of them in its diſtant ſettlements. It is at the expence of all Europe that Holland has continually increaſed the number of its ſubjects: the liberty of conſcience allowed there, and the moderation of the laws, have attracted all perſons who were oppreſſed in ſeveral other places by a ſpirit of intoleration and the ſeverity of government.

THE republic has procured means of ſubſiſtence to all perſons who have been willing to ſettle and work among them: we have ſeen at different times the inhabitants of a country ruined by war, ſeeking ſecurity and employment in Holland.

AGRICULTURE could never be a conſiderable object in Holland, although the land is cultivated to as great a degree of perfection as poſſible. But the herring fiſhery ſupplies the place of agriculture. This is a new method of ſubſiſtence, a ſchool for ſeamen. Born upon the waters, they plough the ſea, from whence they get their food: they grow familiar with ſtorms, and learn without riſque to overcome dangers.

THE traffic of tranſport which the republic continually carries on from one European nation

tion to another, is alſo a kind of navigation, which, without deſtroying men, ſupplies them with ſubſiſtence by labour.

In ſhort, navigation, which depopulates a part of Europe, peoples Holland. It is as it were the produce of the country. Her ſhips are her landed eſtates, which ſhe makes the moſt of, at the expence of the ſtranger.

The elegant accommodations of life are known in Holland without being an object of purſuit: the refinements of behaviour are adopted with moderation; thoſe of caprice they are unacquainted with. A ſpirit of order, frugality, and even avarice prevails throughout the nation, and has been carefully kept up by the government.

The colonies are conducted by the ſame ſpirit. They are peopled in general with the ſcum of the nation, or with foreigners; but rigid laws, an equitable adminiſtration, an eaſy ſubſiſtence, and uſeful labour ſoon infuſe morals into theſe men, who were exiled from Europe, becauſe they had none.

The ſame deſign of preſerving the population prevails in the military ſyſtem; the republic maintains a great number of foreign troops in Europe, and ſome in the colonies.

The ſailors in Holland are well paid; and foreign ſeamen are conſtantly employed either on board their trading veſſels, or their men of war.

For the purpoſes of commerce, it is neceſſary that harmony ſhould be preſerved at home, and peace abroad. No people, except the Swiſs,

take more care to keep on good terms with their neighbours; and they endeavour, ſtill more than the Swiſs, to encourage peace among them. The republic preſerves unanimity among her citizens, by very excellent laws, which preſcribe the duties of every ſtation, by a ſpedy and diſintereſted adminiſtration of juſtice, and by regulations admirably well adapted to the merchants. She has ſhewn the opinion ſhe entertains of the neceſſity of good faith by her obſervance of treaties, and has endeavoured to inculcate the ſame principle among individuals.

In a word, we know of no nation in Europe that has conſidered better what its united advantages of ſituation, ſtrength, and population allow it to undertake, or that has known and followed more effectually the means of increaſing both its population and its ſtrength. We know of none, which having ſuch objects as an extenſive commerce and liberty, mutually attracting and ſupporting each other, hath conducted itſelf in a better manner for the preſervation of both the one and the other.

But how are theſe manners already changed and degenerated from the purity of a republican government! Perſonal intereſts, which become laudable by being combined, are now totally ſelfiſh, and corruption is become general. There is no patriotiſm in that country, which above all others in the univerſe ſhould inſpire its inhabitants with more ſtedfaſt attachments. In reality, what patriotic ſentiments might we not

not expect from a nation that can ſay to itſelf, This land which I inhabit, has been fertilized by me; it is I who have embelliſhed, who have created it. This threatening ſea, which deluged all our plains, rages in vain againſt the powerful dikes I have oppoſed to its fury. I have purified this air which ſtagnant waters had filled with fatal exhalations. It is by my means that ſuperb cities ſtand now upon the ſlime and mud, over which the ocean once rolled its waves. The ports I have conſtructed, the canals I have digged, received the productions of the whole univerſe, which I diſpenſe at pleaſure. The inheritances of other nations are only poſſeſſions which man diſputes with man; that which I ſhall leave to my poſterity, I have raviſhed from the elements which conſpired againſt my territory, and am now the maſter of it. It is here that I have eſtabliſhed a new arrangement of nature, a new ſyſtem of manners. I have done every thing where there was nothing. Air, land, government, liberty, all theſe are my works. I enjoy the glory of the paſt; and when I caſt a look into futurity, I ſee with ſatisfaction that my aſhes will reſt quietly on the ſame ſpot where my fore-fathers ſaw the breaking of ſtorms.

What motives theſe for idolizing one's country! Yet there is no longer any public ſpirit in Holland: it is a whole, the parts of which have no other relation among themſelves than the ſpot they occupy. Meanneſs, baſeneſs and diſhoneſty characteriſe now the conquerors of Philip. They make a traffic of their oath, as of their merchandiſe;

chandiſe; and they will ſoon become the refuſe of the univerſe, which they had aſtoniſhed by their induſtry and by their virtues.

Ye unworthy members of the government, under which ye live, ſhudder at leaſt at the dangers that ſurround you! Thoſe who have ſlaviſh ſouls are not far removed from ſlavery. The ſacred fire of liberty can only be kept up by chaſte hands. Ye are not now in the ſame ſtate of anarchy, as when the ſovereigns of Europe all equally oppoſed by the nobles in their reſpective ſtates, could not carry on their deſigns either with ſecrecy, unanimity or rapidity; as when the equilibrium of the ſeveral powers was merely the effect of their mutual debility. At preſent, power grown more independent, confirms thoſe advantages to a monarchy which a free ſtate can never enjoy. What have republicans to oppoſe to ſuperiority ſo formidable? Their virtues; but ye have loſt them. The corruption of your manners, and of your magiſtrates, encourages every where the detractors of liberty; and, perhaps, your fatal example is the means of impoſing a heavier yoke on other nations. What anſwer would you wiſh us to make to thoſe men, who, either from the prejudice of education or the want of honeſty, are perpetually telling us; This is the government which you extol ſo much in your writings; theſe are the happy conſequences of that ſyſtem of liberty you hold ſo dear. To thoſe vices which you have laid to the charge of deſpotiſm, they have added another,

ther, which ſurpaſſes them all, the inability to ſtop the progreſs of evil. What anſwer can be given to ſo ſevere a ſatire on democracy?

INDUSTRIOUS Hollanders! ye who were formerly ſo renowned for your bravery, and are at preſent ſo diſtinguiſhed by your wealth, tremble at the idea of being again reduced to crouch under the rod you have broken, and which ſtill hangs over you. Would you learn how the ſpirit of commerce may be united and preſerved with the ſpirit of liberty? View from your ſhores that iſland, and thoſe people, whom nature preſents to you as a model for your imitation. Keep your eyes conſtantly fixed upon England: if the alliance of that kingdom has been your ſupport, its conduct will now ſerve you as an inſtructor, and its example as a guide.

BOOK III.

Settlements, Trade, and Conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies.

BOOK III.

Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce.

WE know nothing either of the period in which the Britiſh iſles were peopled, nor of the origin of their firſt inhabitants. All we can learn from the moſt authentic hiſtorical records is, that they were ſucceſſively viſited by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls. The traders of theſe nations uſed to go there to exchange earthen veſſels, ſalt, all kinds of iron, and copper inſtruments, for ſkins, ſlaves, hounds, and bull-dogs, and eſpecially for tin. Their profits were juſt what they pleaſed in their dealings with ſavages equally ignorant of the value of what they ſold or bought.

A LOOSE ſpeculation would lead us to imagine, that iſlanders have been the firſt civilized people among mankind. Nothing puts a ſtop to the excurſions of people living on a continent: they may get their livelihood and avoid fighting at the ſame time. In iſlands, war, and the inconveniences of a too limited ſociety, ſhould ſooner make laws and treaties neceſſary. But whatever is the reaſon of it, we generally ſee the manners and the govern-

ment

ment of islanders formed later and more imperfectly than others. All the traditions respecting Britain, particularly confirm this assertion.

The Roman empire was not sufficiently durable, and too eagerly disputed, to improve in any considerable degree the industry of the Britons. Even the small progress that husbandry and the arts had made during this period, was lost as soon as that haughty power had determined to abandon this conquest. The spirit of slavery which the southern inhabitants of Britain had contracted, deprived them of the courage necessary to resist at first the overflowings of their neighbours the Picts, who had saved themselves from the yoke by flying towards the north of the island, and prevented them afterwards from being able to oppose the more destructive, more obstinate and more numerous expeditions of plunderers that poured in swarms from the more northern parts of Europe.

All nations were affected with this dreadful plague, the most destructive, perhaps, that ever was recorded in the annals of the world; but the calamities which Great Britain particularly experienced are inexpressible. Every year, several times even in a year, her countries were ravaged, her houses burnt, her women ravished, her temples stripped, her inhabitants massacred, put to torture, or enslaved. All these misfortunes succeeded each other with inconceivable rapidity. When the country was so far destroyed that nothing remained to glut the avidity of these barbarians, they seized on the land itself. One nation succeeded another.

another. One troop ſupervening, expelled or exterminated the one that was already eſtabliſhed; and this ſucceſſion of revolutions conſtantly kept up indolence, miſtruſt and miſery. In theſe diſpiriting times, the Britons had ſcarce any commercial connection with the continent. Exchanges were even ſo rare amongſt them, that it was neceſſary to have witneſſes for the ſale of the leaſt trifle.

It might have been expected that the union of the two kingdoms would have put a ſtop to theſe calamities; when William the Conqueror ſubdued Great Britain a little while after the middle of the eleventh century. His followers came from countries rather more civilized, more active, and more induſtrious, than thoſe they came to ſettle in. Such a communication ought naturally to have rectified and enlarged the ideas of the conquered people. The introduction of the feudal government occaſioned ſo ſpeedy and ſo complete a revolution in matters of property, that every thing was thrown into confuſion.

The minds of men were ſcarcely ſettled, and the conquerors and the conquered had but juſt begun to conſider themſelves as one and the ſame people, when the abilities and ſtrength of the nation were engaged in ſupporting the pretenſions of their ſovereigns to the crown of France. In theſe obſtinate wars, the Engliſh diſplayed military talents and courage; but after ſeveral great efforts, and conſiderable ſucceſs, they were forced back into their iſland, where domeſtic troubles expoſed them to freſh calamities.

During

DURING theſe different periods, the whole commerce was in the hands of the Jews and the bankers of Lombardy, who were alternately favoured and robbed, conſidered as uſeful perſons, and condemned to death, expelled and recalled: theſe tumults were increaſed by the audacity of the pirates, who being ſometimes protected by the government, with which they ſhared their ſpoils, attacked all ſhips indiſcriminately, and frequently ſank their crews. The intereſt of money was at fifty per cent. Leather, furs, butter, lead, and tin were the only things exported from England at a very moderate rate, and thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, which returned annually a more conſiderable ſum. As the Engliſh were then totally unacquainted with the art of dying this wool, and manufacturing it with elegance, the greateſt part of this money returned. To remedy this inconvenience, foreign manufacturers were invited, and the people were prohibited from wearing any cloaths that were not of home manufacture. At the ſame time, the exportation of manufactured wool and wrought iron was forbidden; two laws altogether worthy of the age in which they were inſtituted.

Henry VII. permitted the barons to diſpoſe of their lands, and the common people to buy them. This regulation diminiſhed the inequality which ſubſiſted before between the fortunes of the lords and their vaſſals; it made the latter more independent, and inſpired the people with the deſire of enriching themſelves, and with the hope of enjoying their riches. There were

many obſtacles to this wiſh, and this hope; ſome of which were removed. The company of merchants eſtabliſhed at London was prevented from exacting in future the ſum of one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five livres* from each of the other merchants in the kingdom, deſirous of trading at the great fairs of the low countries. In order to fix a greater number of people to the labours of huſbandry, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould put his ſon or daughter out to any kind of apprenticeſhip, without being poſſeſſed of a rent of twenty-two livres ten ſols† in landed property: this abſurd law was afterwards mitigated.

UNFORTUNATELY that law which regulated the price of all ſorts of proviſions, of woollens, of workmen's wages, of ſtuffs, and of cloathing, was maintained in its full force. Other impediments even were thrown in the way of commerce, on account of ſome pernicious combinations that were ſet on foot. The loan of money at intereſt, and the profits of exchange were ſtrictly prohibited, as uſurious in themſelves, or calculated to introduce uſury. The exportation of money in any kind of coin was forbidden; and, in order to prevent foreign merchants from carrying it clandeſtinely away, they were compelled to change into Engliſh merchandiſe the entire produce of the goods they had brought into England. The exportation of horſes was likewiſe prohibited; and the people were not ſufficiently enlightened to diſcover that

* 68l. 18s. 1d. ½ † Near 20s.

ſuch

ſuch a prohibition would neceſſarily cauſe the propagation and improvement of the ſpecies to be neglected. At length corporations were eſtabliſhed in all the towns; that is to ſay, the ſtate authoriſed all perſons of the ſame profeſſion, to make ſuch regulations as they ſhould think neceſſary for their excluſive preſervation and ſucceſs. The nation is ſtill oppreſſed with a regulation ſo contrary to general induſtry, and which reduces every thing to a kind of monopoly.

Upon conſidering ſuch a number of ſtrange laws, we might be induced to think that Henry was either indifferent about the proſperity of his kingdom, or that he was totally deficient in underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that this prince, notwithſtanding his extreme avarice, often lent conſiderable ſums of money, without intereſt, to merchants who had not property ſufficient to carry on the ſchemes they had planned: beſides, the wiſdom of his government is ſo well confirmed, that he is accounted, with reaſon, one of the greateſt monarchs that ever filled the throne of England. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of genius, it requires a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages before any ſcience can be reduced to ſimple principles. It is the ſame thing with theories as with machines, which are always very complicated at firſt, and which are only freed in the courſe of time by obſervation and experience, from thoſe uſeleſs wheels which ſerved merely to increaſe their friction.

The knowledge of the ſucceeding reigns was not much more extenſive upon thoſe matters we are

treating of. Some Flemings, ſettled in England, were the only good workmen in that country; they were almoſt always inſulted and oppreſſed by the Engliſh workmen, who were jealous without emulation: they complained that all the cuſtomers went to the Flemings, and they raiſed the price of corn. The government adopted theſe popular prejudices, and forbad all ſtrangers to employ more than two workmen in their ſhops. The merchants were not better treated than the workmen, and thoſe even who were naturalized, were obliged to pay the ſame duties as aliens. Ignorance was ſo general, that the cultivation of the beſt lands was neglected, in order to convert them into paſture lands, even at the time that the number of ſheep, which might be in one flock, was reſtrained by the laws to two thouſand. All mercantile correſpondences were confined in the low countries. The inhabitants of theſe provinces bought the Engliſh commodities, and circulated them through the different parts of Europe. It is probable that the nation would not have made any conſiderable figure for a long time, without a concurrence of favourable circumſtances.

The Duke of Alva's cruelties drove ſeveral able manufacturers into England, who carried the art of the fine Flemiſh manufactures to London. The perſecutions which the Proteſtants ſuffered in France ſupplied England with workmen of all kinds. Elizabeth, impatient of contradiction, but knowing and deſirous of doing what was right, at once deſpotic and popular, with the advantages of a good underſtanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed

availed herſelf of the fermentation of people's minds, as prevalent throughout all her dominions as through the reſt of Europe; and while this fermentation produced among other people nothing but theological diſputes, and civil or foreign wars; in England, it gave riſe to a lively emulation for commerce, and for the improvement of navigation.

THE Engliſh learned to build their ſhips at home, which they bought before of the merchants of Lubec and Hamburgh. They were ſoon the only perſons who traded to Muſcovy by the way of Archangel juſt diſcovered; and they preſently became competitors with the Hanſe towns in Germany, and in the north. They began to trade with Turky. Several of their navigators attempted, though in vain, to diſcover a paſſage to India by the northern ſeas. At length Drake, Stephens, Cavendiſh, and ſome others, reached that place, ſome by the ſouth ſea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

Firſt voyages of the Engliſh to India.

THE ſucceſs of theſe voyages was ſufficient to determine the moſt able merchants of London to eſtabliſh a company in the year 1600; which obtained an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies. The act which granted this privilege, fixed it for fifteen years: it declared, that if it ſhould prove injurious to the ſtate, it ſhould be annulled, and the company ſuppreſſed, by giving two years previous notice to its members.

THIS clauſe of reſerve was owing to the diſpleaſure the commons had lately ſhewn on account of a grant, the novelty of which might poſſibly offend them. The queen had returned to the

houſe, and had ſpoken on this occaſion in a manner worthy to ſerve as a leſſon to all ſovereigns.

"GENTLEMEN," ſaid ſhe to the members of the houſe commiſſioned to return her thanks, "I am "extremely ſenſible of your attachment, and of the "care you have taken to give me an authentic "teſtimony of it. This affection for my perſon had "determined you to apprize me of a fault I had "inadvertently fallen into from ignorance, but in "which my will had no ſhare. If your vigilance "had not diſcovered to me the miſchiefs which my "miſtake might have produced, what pain ſhould "I not have felt—I, who have nothing dearer to "me than the affection and preſervation of my peo-"ple? May my hand ſuddenly wither, may my "heart be ſtruck at once with a deadly blow, be-"fore I ſhall ever grant particular privileges that "my ſubjects may have reaſon to complain of! "The ſplendour of the throne has not ſo far daz-"zled my eyes, that I ſhould prefer the abuſe of "an unbounded authority to the uſe of a power "exerciſed by juſtice. The brilliancy of royalty "blinds only thoſe princes who are ignorant of the "duties that the crown impoſes. I dare believe "that I ſhall not be ranked among ſuch monarchs. "I know that I hold not the ſcepter for my own "proper advantage, and that I am entirely devoted "to the ſociety, which has put its confidence in "me. It is my happineſs to ſee that the ſtate has "hitherto proſpered under my government; "and that my ſubjects are worthy that I ſhould "yield up my crown and my life for their ſakes.

"Impute not to me the improper meaſures I may "be engaged in, nor the irregularities which may "be committed under the ſanction of my name. "You know that the miniſters of princes are "too often guided by private intereſts, that truth "ſeldom reaches the ears of kings, and that obliged "as they are, from the multiplicity of affairs they "are laden with, to fix their attention on thoſe which "are of the greateſt importance, it is impoſſible "they ſhould ſee every thing with their own eyes."

THE funds of this company were, at firſt, far from being conſiderable. Part of them was expended in fitting out a fleet of four ſhips which ſailed in the beginning of the year 1601; and the reſt was ſent abroad in money and merchandiſe.

LANCASTER, who commanded the expedition, arrived the year following at the port of Achen, which was at that time a celebrated mart. Intelligence was received of the victories gained by the Engliſh over the Spaniards at ſea; and this intelligence procured him a very diſtinguiſhed reception. The king behaved to him in the ſame manner as if he had been his equal; he ordered that his own wives richly habited, ſhould play ſeveral airs in his preſence, on a variety of inſtruments. This favour was followed by all the compliances that could be wiſhed for to facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a ſafe and advantageous commerce. The Engliſh admiral was received at Bantam in the ſame manner as at the place where he firſt landed; and a ſhip which he had diſpatched to the Molucca iſlands, brought him a conſiderable cargo

of cloves and nutmegs. With theſe valuable ſpices, and the pepper he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned ſafe to Europe.

THIS early ſucceſs determined the ſociety who had intruſted their intereſts in the hands of this able man, to form ſettlements in India; but not without the conſent of the natives. They did not wiſh to begin with conqueſts. Their expeditions were nothing more than the enterpriſes of humane and fair traders. They made themſelves beloved: but they gained nothing by this good impreſſion, except a few factories, and were in no condition to ſuſtain the attempts of their rivals, who were very formidable.

THE Portugueſe and Dutch were in poſſeſſion of large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours. By theſe advantages their trade was ſecured againſt the natives of the country, and againſt new competitors; their return to Europe was rendered eaſy; and they had opportunities of getting a good ſale for the commodities they carried to Aſia, and to purchaſe thoſe they wanted at a moderate price. The Engliſh, on the contrary, expoſed to the caprice of ſeaſons and of people, having no ſtrength, or place of ſecurity, and deriving their ſupplies from England only, could not carry on an advantageous trade. They found how difficult it was to acquire great riches without great injuſtice, and that if they would ſurpaſs or even equal the nations they had cenſured, they muſt purſue the ſame conduct.

THE plan of forming laſting ſettlements, and of attempting conqueſts, ſeemed too great to be ac-

compliſhed by the forces of an infant ſociety: but they flattered themſelves that they ſhould meet with protection, becauſe they thought themſelves uſeful. They were diſappointed in their expectations. They could obtain nothing from James I. a weak prince, infected with the falſe philoſophy of his age, of a ſubtile and pedantic genius, and better qualified to be at the head of an univerſity than to preſide over an empire. By their activity, perſeverance, and judicious choice of officers and factors, the company provided thoſe ſuccours which were refuſed them by their ſovereign. They erected forts, and founded colonies in the iſlands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. They likewiſe ſhared the ſpice-trade with the Dutch, which will always be the moſt certain branch of eaſtern commerce, becauſe the objects of it are become neceſſary articles of life. It was of more importance at the time we are ſpeaking of, becauſe the luxury which ariſes from caprice had not then made ſo much progreſs in Europe as it has done ſince, and becauſe there was not that prodigious demand for India linens, ſtuffs, teas, and Chineſe varniſh, that there is at preſent.

Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch.

The Dutch, who had driven the Portugueſe from the ſpice-iſlands, never intended to ſuffer a nation to ſettle there, whoſe maritime force, character, and government, would make them formidable rivals. They had many advantages on their ſide, ſuch as powerful colonies; a well exerciſed navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowledge of the country, and of the principles and

and details of commerce, which the Engliſh wanting, were attacked in all poſſible ways.

THE firſt ſtep their rival took was to drive them from the fertile places where they had formed ſettlements. In the iſlands where their power was leſs eſtabliſhed, they endeavoured, by accuſations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. Theſe ſhameful expedients not meeting with all the ſucceſs the Dutch expected, thoſe avaritious traders reſolved to proceed to acts of violence. An extraordinary occaſion brought on the commencement of hoſtilities ſooner than was expected.

IT is a cuſtom at Java for the new married women to diſpute with their huſbands the firſt favours of love. This kind of conteſt, which the men take a pride in terminating immediately, and the women in protracting as long as poſſible, ſometimes laſts ſeveral weeks. The king of Bantam having overcome the reſiſtance of a new bride, made public entertainments in celebration of his triumph. The ſtrangers in the harbour were invited to theſe feſtivals. Unhappily for them, the Engliſh were treated with too much diſtinction. The Dutch looked with a jealous eye upon this preference, and did not defer revenge a moment. They attacked them on all ſides.

THE Indian ocean became, at this period, the ſcene of the moſt bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They ſought out, attacked, and combated each other with the ſpirit of men who choſe to conquer or die. Equal courage appeared on both ſides, but there

there was a diſparity in their forces. The Engliſh were on the point of being overcome, when ſome moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not eaſy to explain, the very ſtrangeſt of all was adopted.

In 1619 the two companies ſigned a treaty, the purport of which was, that the Molucca iſlands, Amboyna, and Banda, ſhould belong in common to the two nations: that the Engliſh ſhould have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their intereſt, ſhould contribute to the defence of theſe iſlands: that a council compoſed of ſkilful men of both parties, ſhould regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: that this agreement, guaranteed by the reſpective ſovereigns, ſhould laſt twenty years; and that if any differences ſhould ariſe during this interval, that could not be ſettled by the two companies, they ſhould be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-general. Among all the political conventions preſerved in hiſtory, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It had the fate it deſerved.

The Dutch were no ſooner informed of it in India, than they deviſed means to render it ineffectual. The ſituation of affairs favoured their deſigns. The Spaniards and the Portugueſe had taken advantage of the diſputes between their enemies, to regain the ſettlements in the Moluccas.

luccas. They might fortify themſelves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The Engliſh commiſſaries concurred with them in opinion, that it would be beſt to attack them without delay; but added, that they were not at all prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was regiſtered; and their aſſociates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reſerved to themſelves. The agents of the Dutch company had only one ſtep further to go, to get all the ſpices into the hands of their maſters, which was, to drive their rivals from the iſland of Amboyna. The method by which they ſucceeded in their project was very extraordinary.

A JAPANESE, in the Dutch ſervice at Amboyna, made himſelf ſuſpected by his imprudent curioſity. He was ſeized, and confeſſed that he had entered into an engagement with the ſoldiers of his nation to deliver up the fort to the Engliſh. His comrades confirmed his account, making the ſame confeſſion. Upon theſe unanimous depoſitions, the authors of the conſpiracy, who did not diſavow, but even acknowledge it, were loaded with irons: and the ignominious death which all the criminals were condemned to ſuffer, put an end to the plot. This is the account given by the Dutch.

THE Engliſh have always conſidered this accuſation as the ſuggeſtion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ten factors and eleven foreign ſoldiers could

could have formed the project of ſeizing upon a place, which was garriſoned by two hunder men: that even if theſe unhappy men had thought it poſſible to execute ſo extravagant a plan, would they not have been diſcouraged by the impoſſibility of obtaining ſuccours to defend againſt them an enemy who would have beſieged them on all ſides? To make a conſpiracy of this kind probable, it requires ſtronger proof than a confeſſion extorted from the accuſed by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage or weakneſs of thoſe whom barbarous cuſtom condemned to it. Theſe conſiderations, ſtrengthened by ſeveral others, almoſt equally convincing, have made the ſtory of the conſpiracy of Amboyna ſo ſuſpected, that it has generally been conſidered as a cloak to cruelty and avarice.

THE miniſtry of James I. and the whole nation, were at that time ſo engaged in eccleſiaſtical ſubtleties, and the diſcuſſion of the rights of king and people, that they were not ſenſible of the inſults offered to the Engliſh name in the Eaſt. This indifference produced a caution which ſoon degenerated into weakneſs. Theſe iſlanders, however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar.

Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe.

THEY had eſtabliſhed factories at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and ſeveral other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richeſt mart in theſe countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The inhabitants were diſpoſed

diſpoſed to receive them; but the Portugueſe declared, that if they ſuffered this nation to make a ſettlement, they would burn all the towns upon the coaſt, and ſeize all the Indian veſſels. The government was awed by theſe menaces. Middleton, diſappointed in his hopes, was obliged to abandon the place, and return through a numerous fleet, to which he did more damage than he received.

CAPTAIN Thomas Beſt arrived in theſe latitudes the year following, with a very conſiderable force. He was received at Surat without any oppoſition. The agents he carried out with him had ſcarce entered upon their employments when a formidable armament from Goa made its appearance. The Engliſh admiral, reduced to this alternative, either of betraying the intereſts he was intruſted with, or of expoſing himſelf to the greateſt danger in defending them, did not heſitate what part he ſhould take. He twice attacked the Portugueſe, and notwithſtanding the great inferiority of his ſquadron, gained the victory each time. However, the advantage the vanquiſhed derived from their poſition, their ports, and their fortreſſes, always made the Engliſh navigation in Guzarat very difficult. They were obliged to maintain a conſtant ſtruggle againſt an obſtinate enemy that was not diſcouraged by defeats. No tranquillity was to be obtained, but at the price of new conteſts and new triumphs.

The Engliſh form connections with Perſia.

THE news of theſe glorious ſucceſſes againſt a nation which had hitherto been thought invincible, reached as far as the capital of Perſia.

THIS

THIS vaſt country, ſo celebrated in antiquity, appeared to have been free at the firſt inſtitution of its government. The monarchy roſe upon the ruins of a depraved republic. The Perſians were long happy under this form of government: their manners were as ſimple as their laws. At length the ſovereigns were inſpired with the ſpirit of conqueſt. At that time the treaſures of Aſſyria, the ſpoils of many trading nations, and the tribute ariſing from a vaſt number of provinces, brought immenſe riches into the empire, which ſoon occaſioned a total alteration. The diſorders roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the care of the public amuſements ſeemed to engage the chief attention of government.

A PEOPLE totally devoted to pleaſure could not fail in a ſhort time to be reduced to ſlavery. They were ſucceſſively brought into that ſtate by the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Arabians, and the Tartars, and towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century by the Sophis, who pretended to be the deſcendents of Aly, author of the famous reformation, by which Mohammediſm was divided into two branches.

No prince of this new race made himſelf ſo famous as Schah-Abbas, ſurnamed the Great. He conquered Candahar, ſeveral places of importance upon the Black Sea, part of Arabia, and drove the Turks out of Georgia, Armenia, Meſopotamia, and all the countries they had conquered beyond the Euphrates.

THESE victories produced remarkable changes in the interior adminiſtration of the empire. The great

great men took advantage of the civil broils to make themſelves independent; they were degraded, and all poſts of conſequence were given to ſtrangers, who had neither the power nor inclination to raiſe factions. The army having taken upon themſelves to diſpoſe of the crown at their pleaſure; they were reſtrained by foreign troops, whoſe religion and cuſtoms were different. Anarchy had inclined the people to ſedition; and to prevent this, the towns and villages were filled with inhabitants choſen out of nations whoſe manners and character bore no reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient inhabitants. Theſe arrangements gave riſe to a deſpotiſm the moſt abſolute, perhaps, that any country ever experienced.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment that the great Abbas ſhould have combined ſome views of public utility with this government, which was naturally oppreſſive. He patronized the arts, and eſtabliſhed them in the capital, and in the provinces. All who came into his dominions, if they poſſeſſed talents of any kind, were ſure of being well received, aſſiſted, and rewarded. He would often ſay, that ſtrangers were the beſt ornaments of an empire, and added more to the dignity of the prince than the pomp of the moſt refined luxury.

While Perſia was riſing from its ruins by the different branches of induſtry that were every where eſtabliſhed, a number of Armenians, tranſplanted to Iſpahan, carried the ſpirit of commerce into the heart of the empire. In a little time, theſe traders, and the natives of the country who followed

followed their example, ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt, into Holland, England, the Mediterranean and the Baltic, and wherever commerce was carried on with ſpirit and advantage. The Sophi himſelf bore a part in their enterpriſes, and advanced them conſiderable ſums, which they employed to advantage in the moſt celebrated marts in the world. They were obliged to return the capital on the terms agreed upon, and if they had increaſed it by their induſtry, he granted them ſome recompence.

THE Portugueſe, who found that part of the Indian trade with Aſia and Europe was likely to be diverted to Perſia, impoſed reſtraints upon it; they would not ſuffer the Perſians to purchaſe merchandiſe any where but from their magazines: they fixed the price of it; and if they ſometimes allowed it to be taken at the places where it was manufactured, it was always to be carried in their own bottoms, charging all expences of freight and exorbitant cuſtoms. This ſtretch of power diſpleaſed the great Abbas, who being informed of the reſentment of the Engliſh, propoſed to unite their maritime ſtrength with his land forces, to beſiege Ormus. This place was attacked by the combined arms of the two nations, and taken in the year 1622, after a conteſt that laſted two months. The conquerors divided the ſpoil, which was immenſe, and afterwards totally demoliſhed the place.

THREE or four leagues from hence there was upon the continent a harbour called Gombroon, or Bender-Abaſſi. Nature ſeemed not to have

deſigned it ſhould be inhabited. It is ſituated at the foot of a ridge of mountains of an exceſſive height; the air you breathe ſeems to be on fire; fatal vapours are continually exhaling from the bowels of the earth; the fields are black and dry, as if they had been ſcorched with fire. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, as Bender-Abaſſi had the advantage of being placed at the entrance of the Gulph, the Perſian monarch choſe to make it the center of the extenſive trade he intended to carry on with India. The Engliſh joined in this project. A perpetual exemption from all impoſts, and a moiety of the product of the cuſtoms, were granted them, on condition they ſhould maintain, at leaſt, two men of war in the Gulph. This precaution was thought neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the Portugueſe, whoſe reſentment was ſtill to be dreaded.

From this time Bender-Abaſſi, which was before a poor fiſhing town, became a flouriſhing city. The Engliſh carried thither ſpices, pepper, and ſugar, from the markets of the eaſt; and iron, lead, and cloths, from the ports of Europe. The profits ariſing from theſe commodities were increaſed by the very high freight paid them by the Armenians, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the richeſt branch of the Indian commerce.

These merchants had, for a long time, been concerned in the linen trade. They had never been ſupplanted either by the Portugueſe, who were intent only on plunder, or by the Dutch, whoſe

whoſe attention was totally confined to the ſpice trade. They might, nevertheleſs, be apprehenſive, that they ſhould not be able to withſtand the competition of a people who were equally rich, induſtrious, active, and frugal. The Armenians acted then as they have ever done ſince: they went to India, where they bought cotton, which they ſent to the ſpinners; the cloths were manufactured under their own inſpection, and carried to Gombroom, from whence they were tranſported to Iſpahan. From thence they were conveyed into the different provinces of the empire, the dominions of the Grand Signior, and into Europe, where the cuſtom has prevailed of calling them Perſian manufactures, though they were never made but on the coaſt of Coromandel. Such is the influence of names upon opinions, that the vulgar error, which attributes to Perſia the manufacture of India, will in a ſeries of ages, perhaps, paſs with the learned in future times for an inconteſtable truth. The inſurmountable difficulties which errors of this kind have occaſioned in the hiſtory of Pliny, and other ancient writers, ſhould induce us to ſet a high value on the labours of the literati of this age, who collect the works of nature and of art with a view of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

In exchange for the merchandiſe they carried to Perſia, they gave the following articles, which were either the produce of their own ſoil, or the fruits of their induſtry.

SILK, which was the principal commodity; and was prepared and exported in great quantities.

CARAMANIAN wool, which nearly reſembles that of the Vicuna. It was of great uſe in the manufacture of hats, and of ſome ſtuffs. It is a remarkable circumſtance in the goats which ſupply it, that in the month of May the fleece falls off of itſelf.

TURQUOISES, which were more or leſs valuable, according as they were procured from one or other of the three mines that produce them. They were formerly an article of the dreſs of our ladies.

GOLD brocades, which ſold at a higher price than any of thoſe which are the produce of the moſt celebrated manufactures. Some of them were made to be worn on one, and others on both ſides. They were uſed for window-curtains, ſkreens and magnificent ſophas.

TAPESTRY, which has ſince been ſo well imitated in Europe, and has for a long time been the richeſt furniture of our rooms.

MOROCCO leather, which, as other ſkins, is brought to a degree of perfection that cannot be equalled any where elſe.

SHAGREEN, goats hair, roſe-water, medicinal roots, gums for colours, dates, horſes, arms, and many other articles, of which ſome are ſold in India, and others carried to Europe.

THOUGH the Dutch contrived to get all the trade of India into their hands, they viewed the tranſactions of Perſia with a jealous eye. They thought

thought the privileges enjoyed by their rivals in the road of Bender-Abaſſi, might be compenſated by the advantage they had in having a greater quantity of ſpices, and entered into a competition with them.

Decline of the Engliſh in India.

THE Engliſh, haraſſed in every mart by a powerful enemy reſolutely bent on their deſtruction, were obliged every where to give way. Their fate was haſtened by thoſe civil and religious diſſentions, which drowned their country in blood, and extinguiſhed all ſentiment and knowledge. India was totally forgotten, while the moſt important intereſts were at ſtake; and the company, oppreſſed and diſcouraged, were reduced to nothing at the time that the death of Charles I. afforded ſo inſtructive and dreadful a leſſon.

CROMWELL, enraged at the favours the Dutch had ſhewn to the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, and at the aſylum they had afforded to the Engliſh who had been proſcribed; and piqued that the republic of the United Provinces ſhould pretend to the dominion of the ſea; proud of his ſucceſs, and ſenſible of his own ſtrength, and of that of the nation under his command, reſolved at the ſame time to inſpire reſpect for his country, and to avenge himſelf. He declared war againſt the Dutch.

OF all the maritime wars which have been recorded in hiſtory, none were conducted with more knowledge, or were more famous for the ſkill of the commanders, and the bravery of the ſailors; none have abounded with ſo many

obſtinate and bloody engagements. The Engliſh gained the ſuperiority, and owed it to the ſize of their ſhips, in which particular they have ſince been imitated by other European nations.

THE protector, whoſe voice was law, did not exert himſelf as far as he might in favour of India. He contented himſelf with providing for the ſecurity of the Engliſh trade, procuring a diſavowal of the maſſacre at Amboyna, and inſiſting upon an indemnification for the deſcendents of the unhappy victims who periſhed in that dreadful tranſaction. No mention is made in the treaty, of the forts taken from the nation by the Dutch, in the iſland of Java, and in ſeveral of the Moluccas. It was ſtipulated, indeed, that the iſland of Puleron ſhould be reſtored: but the uſurpers, ſeconded by the Engliſh negotiator whom they had corrupted, found means to elude this article ſo dextrouſly, which would and ought to have produced a rivalry in the ſpice trade, that the obſervance of it was never enforced.

Revival of the Engliſh trade in India.

NOTWITHSTANDING this neglect, as ſoon as the company had obtained from the protector a renewal of their privileges in 1657, and found themſelves firmly ſupported by the publick authority, they ſhewed a ſpirit of reſolution which they had loſt during their late misfortunes. Their courage increaſed with their rights.

THE ſucceſs they met in Europe, accompanied them into Aſia, Arabia, Perſia, Indoſtan, the eaſtern parts of India, China, and all the markets where the Engliſh had formerly traded, were

opened to them. They were even received with more frankneſs and leſs diſtruſt than they had experienced formerly. Their trade was carried on with great activity, and their profits were very conſiderable: nothing was wanting to complete their ſucceſs, but to gain admittance into Japan, which they attempted. But the Japaneſe being informed by the Dutch that the king of England had married a daughter of the king of Portugal, refuſed to admit the Engliſh into their ports.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſappointment, the company's affairs were in a very flouriſhing condition: they flattered themſelves with the pleaſing hopes of giving a greater extent and ſecurity to their affairs, when they found their career retarded by a rivalſhip, which their own ſucceſs created.

Misfortunes and miſconduct of the Engliſh in India.

SOME traders, fired with the relation of the advantages to be obtained in India, reſolved to make voyages thither. Charles II. who though ſeated on the throne was nothing more than a private man of voluptuous and diſſolute manners, gave them permiſſion for a valuable conſideration: while, on the other hand, he extorted large ſums from the company, to enable him to perſecute thoſe who encroached upon their charter. A competition of this nature would unavoidably degenerate into piracy. The Engliſh thus becoming enemies to each other, carried on their diſputes with a ſpirit of rancour and animoſity, which lowered them in the opinion of the people of Aſia.

THE Dutch wiſhed to take advantage of ſo ſingular a conjuncture. Theſe republicans had for a long time been abſolute maſters of the Indian trade. They had ſeen with regret a part of it taken out of their hands, at the concluſion of the civil wars in England. They hoped to recover it by the ſuperiority of their forces, when in 1664 the two nations entered into a war in all parts of the world; but the hoſtilities did not continue long enough to anſwer theſe ſanguine expectations. As the peace prevented them from having recourſe to open violence againſt one another, they reſolved to attack the ſovereigns of the country to oblige them to ſhut their ports againſt their rival. The fooliſh and deſpicable behaviour of the Engliſh increaſed the inſolence of the Dutch, who proceeded ſo far as to drive them ignominiouſly from Bantam in 1680.

So ſerious and public an inſult rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh company. The deſire of re-eſtabliſhing their character, gratifying their revenge, and maintaining their intereſts, animated them to the moſt ſpirited exertions. They equipped a fleet of twenty-three ſhips, with eight thouſand regular troops on board. They were ready to ſail, when their departure was poſtponed by the king's orders. Charles, whoſe neceſſities and licentiouſneſs were unbounded, entertained hopes of receiving an immenſe ſum to induce him to recall this armament. As he could not obtain it from his ſubjects, he was reſolved to receive it from his enemies. He ſacrificed

the honour and trade of his nation for 2,250,000 livres*, which were paid him by the Dutch, who were intimidated by theſe great preparations. The intended expedition never took place.

THE company exhauſted by the expences of an armament, which had been rendered uſeleſs by the venality of the court, ſent their veſſels to India without the neceſſary funds to ſupply the cargoes; but with orders to the factors, if poſſible to take them upon credit. The fidelity they had hitherto obſerved in their engagements procured them 6,750,000 livres †. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the method that was taken to pay them back.

JOSIAS CHILD who from being a director was become the tyrant of the Company, is ſaid, unknown to his colleagues, to have ſent orders to India, to invent ſome pretence or other, to defraud the lenders of their money. The execution of this iniquitous project was intruſted to his brother John Child, who was governor of Bombay. This avaritious, turbulent, and ſavage man immediately proceeded to make ſeveral claims upon the governor of Surat, ſome more ridiculous than others. Theſe demands meeting with the reception they deſerved, he attacked all the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the crown of Delhi, and ſingled out in particular the ſhips from Surat, as being the richeſt. He paid no regard to veſſels that ſailed with paſſports from the crown, and carried his inſolence ſo far as to ſeize a fleet laden with proviſion for

* 98,437l. 10s. † 295,312l. 10s.

the

the Mogul's army. This terrible pillage, which laſted the whole year 1688, occaſioned incredible loſſes throughout all Indoſtan.

AURENGZEBE, who held the reigns of the empire with a ſteady hand, did not loſe a moment in revenging ſo great an outrage. In the beginning of the year 1689, one of his lieutenants landed with twenty thouſand men at Bombay, an iſland of conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, which a princeſs of Portugal had brought as her dowry to Charles II. and which that monarch had ceded to the compan in 1668. On the enemy's approach, the fort of Magazan was abandoned with ſuch precipitation, that money, proviſions, ſeveral cheſts of arms, and fourteen pieces of heavy cannon were left behind. The Indian general, encouraged by this firſt advantage, attacked the Engliſh in the field, routed them, and obliged them to retire into the principal fortreſs, which he inveſted, where he hoped ſoon to make them ſurrender.

CHILD, who was as daſtardly in time of danger as he had been daring in his piracies, immediately diſpatched deputies to the emperor's court, to ſue for pardon. After many intreaties, and much ſubmiſſion, the Engliſh were admitted into the emperor's preſence with their hands tied, and their faces towards the ground. Aurengzebe, who was deſirous of preſerving a connection which he thought would be uſeful to his ſubjects, was not inflexible. Having delivered himſelf in the ſtile of an incenſed ſovereign, who could, and ought, perhaps, to revenge

venge himſelf, he yielded to their intreaties and ſubmiſſion. The baniſhment of the author of the troubles, and an adequate compenſation for ſuch of his ſubjects as had been plundered, was all the juſtice exacted on this occaſion by the ſupreme will of the moſt deſpotic monarch that ever exiſted. On theſe moderate terms, the Engliſh were permitted ſtill to enjoy the privileges they had obtained at different times in the roads belonging to the Mogul.

Thus ended this unhappy affair, which for ſeveral years interrupted the trade of the company, brought on an expence of between nine and ten millions *, occaſioned the loſs of five large veſſels, and a greater number of ſmall ones; deſtroyed many thouſand excellent ſailors, and ended in the ruin of the credit and honour of the nation; two particulars, the value of which can never be eſtimated too highly.

By changing their maxims and their conduct, the company might have flattered themſelves with the proſpect of being extricated from the abyſs into which their own behaviour had plunged them. Theſe hopes were ſoon daſhed by a revolution which did not directly concern them. James II. a tyrannical and fanatic prince, but one who underſtood maritime affairs and commerce better than any of his cotemporaries, was depoſed. This event put all Europe in arms. The conſequences of theſe bloody quarrels are well known. Perhaps, it is not a matter of ſuch univerſal notoriety, that the French privateers took

* On an average about 416,000l.

four

four thouſand two hundred Engliſh merchantmen, valued at ſix hundred ſeventy-five millions of livres *, and that the greateſt part of the veſſels returning from India were included in this fatal liſt.

THESE depredations were ſucceeded by a ſpirit of œconomy, which muſt naturally haſten the ruin of the company. The French refugees had carried the culture of flax and hemp into Ireland and Scotland. For the encouragement of this branch of induſtry, it was thought proper to prohibit the wear of Indian linens, except Muſlins, and thoſe which were neceſſary for the African trade. How could a body already exhauſted ſuſtain ſo unforeſeen, ſo heavy a ſtroke?

THE peace which ſhould have put an end to theſe misfortunes, filled up the meaſure of them. A general clamour was raiſed in the three kingdoms againſt the company. It was not their decline that raiſed them enemies; it only encouraged thoſe they had already. They met with oppoſition at their firſt eſtabliſhment. Ever ſince the year 1615, ſeveral politicians had declaimed againſt the trade to the Eaſt Indies. They aſſerted, that it weakened the naval ſtrength by deſtroying great numbers of men; and leſſened the Levant and Ruſſian commerce, without affording an equivalent advantage. Theſe clamours, though contradicted by judicious people, grew ſo violent towards the year 1628, that the company, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the odium of the nation, applied to government. They

* 29,531,250l.

petitioned

petitioned that the nature of their commerce might be examined: that it might be prohibited, if it were contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate; and if favourable to them, that it might be authoriſed by a public declaration. The oppoſition of the nation, which had been ſome time dormant, was renewed with more fury than ever, at the period we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who were leſs ſevere in their ſpeculations, conſented to a trade with India; but maintained that it ſhould be laid open to the whole nation. An excluſive charter was, in their opinion, a manifeſt encroachment upon liberty. According to them, government was eſtabliſhed by the people with a view of advancing the general good: and it would be a crime againſt it to ſacrifice public to private intereſts, by tolerating odious monopolies. They ſupported this uſeful and inconteſtable principle, by appealing to a recent inſtance. They urged, that during the rebellion, the private merchants who had got poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic ſeas, carried double the quantity of national goods that were formerly brought, and were enabled to ſell commodities on their return at ſo low a price as to ſupplant the Dutch in all European markets. But thoſe acute republicans, who were certain of their ruin, if the Engliſh ſhould continue any longer to conduct their affairs on the principles of univerſal liberty, bribed ſome perſons to prevail with Cromwell to form a ſeparate company. Theſe ſecret practices were countenanced by the Engliſh merchants concerned in that trade, who hoped for greater advantages in future; when being the only

only venders, they might impoſe what terms they pleaſed upon the conſumers. The protector, deceived by the artful inſinuations of both, renewed the charter, but for ſeven years only, that he might alter his conduct, if he found reaſon to think he had taken a wrong ſtep.

THIS ſtep did not appear improper to every one. Several people were of opinion, that the trade to India could not be carried on with advantage, without an excluſive privilege: but many of them maintained that the preſent charter was inſufficient, becauſe it had been granted by kings who had no right to grant it. They recited many acts of this kind which were abrogated by parliament in the reigns of Edward III. Henry IV. James I. and other princes. Charles II. indeed, obtained a verdict of this nature in the court of common pleas, but it was founded upon a frivolous pretence. This tribunal had the confidence to declare, *That the prince had authority to prevent his ſubjects from holding commerce with infidels, leſt the purity of their faith ſhould be contaminated.*

THOUGH the parties above-mentioned were actuated by private, and even oppoſite views, they all united in the plan of making the trade free, or at leaſt of procuring the reverſal of the company's charter. The nation, in general, were on their ſide: but the body that was attacked, defended itſelf by its partiſans, the miniſtry, and all the dependents of the court, who made this a common cauſe. Each party had recourſe to libels, intrigue and corruption. Theſe contending paſſions produced one of thoſe ſtorms, the violence of which

can

can hardly be felt any where but in England. The ſeveral factions, ſects and intereſts maintained a furious combat; in which they all mingled without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. Such a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had never been raiſed by the greateſt events. To keep up the zeal of their friends, the company offered to lend large ſums on condition of obtaining their charter. Their adverſaries made offers ſtill more conſiderable to get it revoked.

THE two houſes of parliament, before whom this cauſe was heard, declared in favour of the private merchants. They obtained leave to carry on trade to India, either ſeparately or in concert. They entered into an aſſociation, and formed a new company. The old one had permiſſion to continue its voyages till the expiration of their charter, which was very near at hand. Thus England had two Eaſt India companies at the ſame time authoriſed by parliament, inſtead of one eſtabliſhed by royal authority.

THESE two bodies ſhewed as much zeal for the deſtruction of each other, as they had ſhewn for their reſpective eſtabliſhment. They had both experienced the advantages of trade; and viewed each other with all the jealouſy and hatred, which ambition and avarice never fail to inſpire. Their diſſentions ſoon broke out with conſiderable violence in Europe, as well as in India. At laſt, the two ſocieties made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this period the affairs of the company were carried on with greater propriety, prudence and dignity. The principles

principles of commerce, which were every day better underſtood in England, had a good effect on their adminiſtration, as far as the intereſts of their monopoly could allow. They made improvements in their former regulations, and formed new ones. They endeavoured to indemnify themſelves for the profits they were deprived of by a ſtrong competition, by procuring a larger ſale for their commodities. Their privileges were leſs violently attacked, ſince they had received the ſanction of the laws, and obtained the protection of parliament.

THEIR proſperity was overcaſt by ſome tranſient misfortunes. In 1702 the Engliſh had formed a ſettlement in the iſland of Pulocondor, which was dependent on Cochin-China. Their deſign was to take a ſhare in the commerce of this rich kingdom, which had till then been too much neglected. An inſtance of exceſſive ſeverity had given diſguſt to ſixteen ſoldiers of Macaſſar, who were part of the garriſon. On the 3d of March 1705, they ſet fire in the night to the houſes belonging to the fort, and maſſacred the Europeans as they came to extinguiſh it. Thirty out of forty-five loſt their lives in this manner; the reſt were maſſacred by the natives, who were exaſperated at the inſolence of theſe ſtrangers. By this accident the company loſt the money their enterpriſe had coſt them, together with the ſtock of their factories and the proſpects they had entertained.

THE misfortunes they met with at Sumatra in the year 1719 were not attended with the ſame fatal conſequences. This large iſland had been frequented

quented by the Engliſh ever ſince their arrival in India, but they did not ſettle there till the year 1688. They drove the Dutch from Bencoolen, a conſiderable town on the weſtern coaſt, built near a large and commodious bay; and took poſſeſſion of it in lieu of them. The conquerors found the iſlanders inclined to treat with them; and theſe diſpoſitions were at firſt improved with prudence. This circumſpect behaviour did not laſt long. The company's agents ſoon abandoned themſelves to that ſpirit of rapine and tyranny, which the Europeans uſually carry with them into Aſia. Clouds of diſcontent between them and the natives of the country began to gather by degrees. Diſtruſt and animoſity had riſen to the higheſt pitch, when at the diſtance of a few miles from the coaſt, the foundations of a fort were diſcovered. On ſeeing this, the inhabitants of Bencoolen took up arms, and were joined by the whole country. All the buildings belonging to the company were inſtantly reduced to aſhes; the Engliſh were routed, and obliged to embark with all the effects they could carry off. Their exile was not of long continuance. The fear of their falling again under the dominion of the mercileſs Dutch, who had a ſtrong force upon the frontier, occaſioned them to be recalled. This misfortune procured them the advantage of finiſhing fort Marlborough without oppoſition, where they ſtill remain.

THESE diſturbances were no ſooner appeaſed, than new ones aroſe in Malabar and other countries. As the ſource of them all was in the avarice

BOOK III.

and turbulent diſpoſition of the company's ſervants, they put an end to them by giving up the unjuſtifiable pretenſions that had occaſioned them. Other objects of the moſt intereſting nature ſoon claimed their attention.

War between the Engliſh and French.

ENGLAND and France entered into a war in 1744. The whole world became the ſcene of their operations. In India, as well as in other places, each nation ſuſtained its character. The Engliſh, ever animated with the ſpirit of commerce, attacked and ruined that of their enemies. The French, adhering to their paſſion for conqueſt, ſeized upon the principal ſettlements belonging to their rival. The event ſhewed which of the two nations had acted with the greateſt prudence. That which attended only to its own aggrandizement, ſank into a total inactivity; while the other, though deprived of the center of its power, carried its enterpriſes to a greater extent.

A CESSATION of hoſtilities between the two divided nations had no ſooner taken place, than they engaged themſelves as auxiliaries, in the quarrels of the Indian princes. Soon after they again took arms on their own account. Before the end of this war, the French were driven out of the continent and ſeas of Aſia. At the concluſion of the peace in 1763, the Engliſh company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the power, in Arabia, in the Perſian Gulph, on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and at Bengal.

IN all theſe countries there is a difference in climate, manners, ſoil, productions, the ſpirit of induſtry, and the price of merchandiſe. Theſe particulars

ticulars ought to be exactly and thoroughly understood. We will give a ſhort ſketch of them. This deſcription will be found to have a particular connection with the hiſtory of a nation, which has obtained a remarkable influence in thoſe countries, and derives from thence the greateſt advantages.

General trade of the Red Sea, and of the Engliſh trade there in particular.

ARABIA is one of the largeſt peninſulas in the known world. It is bounded by Syria, Diarbeck and Irac-Arabi on the north, by the Indian Ocean on the ſouth, by the Gulph of Perſia on the eaſt, and on the weſt by the Red Sea, which ſeparates it from Africa. It is commonly divided into three parts; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix, which names denote the nature of the ſoil in each of theſe countries.

ARABIA PETRÆA is the moſt weſtern and the the ſmalleſt of the three. It is for the moſt part uncultivated, and almoſt totally covered with rocks. In Arabia Deſerta nothing is to be ſeen but dry plains, heaps of ſand raiſed and diſſipated by the wind, and ſteep mountains never embelliſhed with verdure. Springs are ſo rarely found there, that the poſſeſſion of them is always diſputed with the ſword. Arabia Felix owes its ſpecious appellation leſs to its fertility, than to its vicinity to the barren countries that ſurround it. Theſe different regions, though expoſed to great heats, enjoy a ſky conſtantly pure and ſerene.

ALL hiſtories agree that this country was peopled at a very early period. It is thought that its firſt inhabitants came from Syria and Chaldea. We cannot find at what period their form of government began; whether their knowledge was de-

rived from India, or whether they acquired it themſelves. It appears that their religion was Sabeiſm even before they were acquainted with the people of Upper Aſia. They had conceived ſublime ideas of the divinity at an early period: they worſhipped the ſtars as bodies animated by celeſtial ſpirits: their religion was neither cruel nor abſurd; and though they were liable to thoſe ſallies of enthuſiaſm ſo common among the ſouthern nations, they do not ſeem to have been tainted with fanaticiſm till the time of Mohammed. The inhabitants of Arabia Deſerta profeſſed a worſhip not quite ſo rational. Many of them worſhipped, and ſome offered human ſacrifices to the ſun. It is a truth that may be collected from the ſtudy of hiſtory and the inſpection of the globe, that the religious ſyſtems in barren countries, ſubject to inundations and volcanos, have ever had a tincture of cruelty, and have always been of a milder caſt in countries more favoured by nature. They take their character from the climate where they are formed.

When Mohammed had eſtabliſhed a new religion in his country, it was no difficult taſk to infuſe a ſpirit of zeal into his followers; and this zeal made them conquerors. They extended their dominion from the weſtern ſeas to thoſe of China, and from the Canaries to the Molucca iſlands. They alſo carried along with them the uſual arts, which they improved. The Arabians did not equally ſucceed in the fine arts; they ſhewed, indeed, ſome genius for them, but had not the leaſt idea of that taſte with which nature ſome time af-

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ter inſpired the people who have become their diſciples.

PERHAPS genius, which is the offspring of a creative imagination, flouriſhes in hot countries, which abound with a variety of productions, grand ſcenes, and ſurprizing events that excite enthuſiaſm: while taſte, which ſelects and reaps the produce of the fields that genius has ſown, ſeems rather to belong to people of a ſedate, mild, and moderate diſpoſition, who live under the influence of a temperate ſky. Perhaps too this ſame taſte, which is the effect of reaſon refined and matured by time, requires a certain ſtability in the government, united with a certain freedom of thinking, a gradual improvement of knowledge, which affording a greater ſcope to genius, enables it to diſcern more exactly the relation one object has to another, and to combine with happier art thoſe mixed ſenſations which give the higheſt entertainment to men of elegant minds. Accordingly the Arabians, who were almoſt conſtantly forced into regions diſturbed with war and fanaticiſm, never enjoyed that temperature of government and climate which gives birth to taſte. But they introduced into the countries they conquered ſciences which they had pillaged, as it were, in the courſe of their ravages, and all the arts eſſential to the proſperity of nations.

No nation at that time underſtood commerce ſo well, or carried it to a greater extent. They attended to it even in the courſe of their conqueſts. Their merchants, manufactures, and ſtaples, extended from Spain to Tonquin; and other people

at leaſt thoſe in the weſtern part of the world, were indebted to them for arts and ſciences, and all articles conducive to the convenience, the preſervation, and the pleaſures of life.

When the power of the Caliphs began to decline, the Arabians, after the example of ſeveral nations they had ſubdued, threw off the yoke of theſe princes, and the country re-aſſumed by degrees its ancient form of government, as well as its primitive manners. At this æra, the nation being, as formerly, divided into tribes, under the conduct of different chiefs, returned to their original character, from which fanaticiſm and ambition had made them depart.

The ſtature of the Arabians is low, their bodies lean, and their voice ſlender; but they have robuſt conſtitutions, brown hair, a ſwarthy complexion, black ſparkling eyes, an ingenuous countenance, but ſeldom agreeable. This contraſted mixture of features and qualities, which ſeem incompatible, appear to have been united in this race of men, to conſtitute a ſingular nation, whoſe figure and character partake ſtrongly of that of the Turks, Africans, and Perſians, by whom they are ſurrounded. Grave and ſerious, they conſider their long beards as marks of dignity; they ſpeak little, uſe no geſture, make no pauſes, nor interrupt one another in their converſation. They pique themſelves on obſerving the ſtricteſt probity towards each other, which is the effect of that ſelf-love, and that ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, united together, make any nation, clan or ſociety, eſteem and prefer themſelves to the reſt of the world. The more care-

fully they preſerve their phlegmatic character, ſo much the more formidable is their reſentment when once it is raiſed. Theſe people have abilities, and even a genius for the ſciences; yet they cultivate them but little, either from want of aſſiſtance, or becauſe they have no occaſion for them; chuſing rather, no doubt, to ſuffer natural evils, than the inconvenience of labour. The Arabians, at this time of day, afford no monument of genius, no productions of induſtry, which intitle them to hold any rank in the hiſtory of the human mind.

THEIR ruling paſſion is jealouſy; that torment of impetuous, weak, and indolent minds. It might naturally be aſked, whether this diſtruſt was owing to the high or low opinion they entertained of themſelves? It is ſaid to be from the Arabians that ſeveral nations of Aſia, Africa, and even Europe itſelf, have borrowed thoſe deſpicable precautions this odious paſſion preſcribes againſt a ſex, which ought to be the guardian, not the ſlave of our pleaſures. As ſoon as a daughter is born, they unite by a kind of ſuture thoſe parts which nature has ſeparated, leaving juſt ſpace enough for the natural diſcharges. As the child grows, the parts by degrees adhere ſo cloſely, that when they become marriageable they are obliged to be ſeparated by an inciſion. Sometimes it is thought ſufficient to make uſe of a ring. The married women, as well as the unmarried, are ſubjected to this outrage on the virtue of the ſex; with this difference only, that the ring worn by the young women cannot be taken off, whereas that of the

married women has a kind of padlock, of which the huſband keeps the key. This cuſtom, which is known in all parts of Arabia, is almoſt univerſally adopted in that part that bears the name of Petræa.

Such are the manners of the nation in general. The different mode of living among the people who compoſe it, muſt neceſſarily have introduced ſome peculiarities of character that are worth obſerving.

The number of Arabians who inhabit the deſert may amount to two millions. They are diſtributed into ſeveral clans, ſome of which are more populous and conſiderable than others, but all independent of each other. Their government is ſimple: an hereditary chief, aſſiſted by a few old men, determines all debates, and puniſhes the offenders. If he is hoſpitable, humane, and juſt, they adore him; if haughty, cruel, and avaricious, they aſſaſſinate him, and appoint a ſucceſſor out of his own family.

These people encamp at all ſeaſons of the year. They have no ſettled abode, and fix at different places where they can be ſupplied with water, fruits, and paſture. They find an infinite charm in this wandering life, and conſider the ſedentary Arabs in the light of ſlaves. They live upon the milk and fleſh of their herds. Their habits, tents, cordage, and the carpets they ſleep upon, are all made of the wool of their ſheep, and the hair of their goats and camels. This is the employment of the women in each family; and there is not a

ſingle artiſt in the whole deſert. What they conſume in tobacco, coffee, rice, and dates, is purchaſed with the butter they carry to the frontiers, and by the money ariſing from the annual ſale of twenty thouſand camels, at leaſt, at forty-eight livres * a head. Theſe animals, ſo uſeful in the eaſt, were formerly carried to Syria. Moſt of them are now ſent to Perſia, the perpetual wars there having occaſioned an extraordinary demand for them, and diminiſhed their ſpecies.

THESE articles not being ſufficient to ſupply the Arabs with what they wanted, they have contrived to raiſe a contribution on the caravans, which ſuperſtition leads to travel through their ſandy regions. The moſt numerous of theſe, which goes from Damar to Mecca, procures a ſafe paſſage by the payment of a hundred purſes, or a hundred and fifty thouſand livres †, to which the Grand Signior is ſubjected, and which, by ancient agreement, is diſtributed among all the hords. The other caravans make ſimilar terms with the hords, through whoſe territories they are obliged to paſs.

INDEPENDENT of this expedient, the Arabs inhabiting the moſt northern part of the deſert have had recourſe to plunder. Theſe people, ſo humane, faithful, and diſintereſted towards each other, are ſavage and rapacious in their tranſactions with foreigners. While they preſerve in their tents the character of beneficent and generous hoſts, they commit continual depredations in the towns and villages of their neighbourhood. They

* 2l. 2s. † 6,562l. 10s.

are

are good fathers, good huſbands, and good maſters; but all are enemies who do not belong to their family. They frequently carry their incurſions to a great diſtance; and Syria, Meſopotamia, and Perſia, are not uncommonly the ſcenes of their depredations.

THE Arabs, who devote themſelves to plunder, form a ſort of ſociety with the camels, to carry on trade or war, where the man is to have all the profit, and the animal the principal fatigue. As theſe two beings are to live together, they are brought up with a view to each other. The Arab trains his camel from its birth, to all the exerciſes and hardſhips it is to undergo during the whole courſe of its life. He accuſtoms it to travel far, and eat little. The animal is early inured to paſs its days without drinking, and its nights without ſleep. He teaches it to draw up its legs under its belly, while it ſuffers itſelf to be laden with burthens, that are inſenſibly increaſed as its ſtrength is improved by age and by the habit of bearing fatigue. In this ſingular plan of education, which princes ſometimes adopt the more eaſily to tame their ſubjects, in proportion as the labour of the animal is doubled, its ſubſiſtence is diminiſhed. The Arabians qualify the camels for expedition, by matches, in which the horſe runs againſt him. The camel, leſs active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long courſe. When the maſter and the camel are ready and equipped for plunder, they ſet out together, traverſe the ſandy deſerts, and lie in ambuſh upon the confines to rob the merchant or traveller. The man ravages, maſſacres, and ſeizes the prey: and the camel

camel carries the booty. If theſe adventurers are purſued, they make a precipitate retreat. The maſter robber mounts his favourite camel, drives the whole troop before him, travels three hundred leagues in eight days without unloading his camels, or allowing them more than an hour each day for reſt, or a cake of dough for their ſubſiſtence. They ſometimes remain the whole time without drinking, unleſs they happen to ſee a ſpring at a little diſtance from the road, when they redouble their pace, run to the water with eagerneſs, which makes them take at one draught, as much as is ſufficient to quench their preſent thirſt, and ſerve them to the end of their journey. Such is the animal ſo often celebrated in the Bible, the Coran, and the eaſtern romances.

THE Arabs, who live in diſtricts that afford ſome ſlender paſture, and where the ſoil is proper for barley, breed the fineſt horſes in the world. Theſe horſes are ſent into all parts to improve and multiply the breed of theſe animals, which are every where inferior in ſwiftneſs, beauty, and ſagacity, to thoſe of Arabia. Their owners live with them as with domeſticks, on whoſe ſervice and affection they can rely: and it happens with them as with all other wandering people, thoſe, in particular, who treat animals with kindneſs, that both the men and the animals partake, in ſome meaſure, of each other's manners and diſpoſition. Theſe Arabs are ſimple, mild and docile: and the different religions that have prevailed in theſe countries, and the ſeveral governments of which they have

have been the ſubjects or tributaries, have produced very little alteration in the character they derive from climate or from habit.

THE Arabs ſettled near the Indian and the Red Sea, and thoſe who inhabit Arabia Felix, were formerly a mild people, fond of liberty, and content with a ſtate of independence, without dreaming of conqueſt. They were too much prejudiced in favour of the beauty of their ſky, and of the ſoil that ſupplied their wants almoſt without culture, to be tempted to extend their dominion over different countries lying in another climate. Mohammed changed their ideas: but they retain no traces of the impreſſions he communicated to them. They paſs their time in ſmoaking, taking coffee, opium, and ſherbet. Theſe gratifications are preceded or followed by exquiſite perfumes that are burnt before them, the ſmoke of which they receive in their clothes, which are ſlightly ſprinkled with roſe water.

BEFORE the Portugueſe had interrupted the navigation of the Red Sea, the Arabs had more activity. They were the factors of all the trade that paſſed through the channel. Aden, which is ſituated at the moſt ſouthern extremity of Arabia upon the Indian ocean, was the mart in theſe parts. The ſituation of its harbour, which opened an eaſy communication with Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Perſia, had rendered it, for many ages, one of the moſt flouriſhing factories in Aſia. Fifteen years after it had repulſed the great Albuquerque, who attempted to demoliſh it in 1513, it ſubmitted to the Turks, who did not long remain maſters of it.

The

The king of Yemen, who poſſeſſed the only diſtrict in Arabia that merits the title of happy, drove them from thence, and removed the trade to Mocha, a place in his dominions, which till then was only a village.

THIS trade was at firſt inconſiderable; conſiſting principally in myrrh, incenſe, aloes, balm of Mecca, ſome aromatics and medicinal drugs. Theſe articles, the exportation of which is continually retarded by exorbitant impoſts, and does not exceed at preſent 700,000 livres*, were at that time more in repute than they have been ſince: but muſt have been always of little conſequence. Soon after a great change enſued from the introduction of coffee.

THE coffee-tree is originally a native of upper Ethiopia, where it has been known time immemorial, and is ſtill cultivated with ſucceſs. M. Lagrenée de Mezieres, one of the moſt intelligent agents that France ever had in the India ſervice, had ſome of the fruit in his poſſeſſion, and has made trial of it. He found it to be larger, rather longer, not ſo green, and almoſt as fragrant as that which was firſt gathered in Arabia towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

IT is commonly believed, that a Mollach, named Chadely, was the firſt among the Arabs who made uſe of Coffee, to relieve himſelf from a continual drowzineſs which hindered him from attending punctually to his nightly devotions. His derviſes did the ſame: and their example was followed by the lawyers. It was ſoon found out,

* 30,625 l.

that

that this liquor purified the blood by a gentle agitation, diſſipated the crudities of the ſtomach, and raiſed the ſpirits: and it was adopted even by thoſe who had no occaſion to keep themſelves awake. It paſſed from the borders of the Red Sea to Medina and Mecca, and was introduced by the pilgrims into all the Mohammedan countries.

In theſe countries where there is leſs freedom of manners than in ours, where the jealouſy of the men and the cloſe confinement of the women make ſociety leſs lively, it was thought proper to encourage public coffee-houſes. Thoſe in Perſia ſoon became infamous, where young Georgian women, dreſſed like courtezans, acted obſcene plays, and proſtituted themſelves for hire. When theſe offenſive irregularities were ſuppreſſed by order of the court, theſe houſes became places of genteel reſort for the indolent, and of relaxation for the buſy part of the world. The politicians entertained themſelves with news, the poets recited their verſes, and the Mollachs delivered their ſermons, which were uſually rewarded with ſome charitable donations.

Affairs were not in the ſame peaceable ſtate at Conſtantinople. The coffee-houſes were no ſooner opened than they were frequented to exceſs. People ſpent their whole time in them. The grand Mufti, concerned to ſee the Moſques abandoned, pronounced that the infuſion of this plant was included in that law of Mohammed, which forbids the uſe of ſtrong liquors. Government, which frequently aids the ſuperſtition of which it is ſometimes the dupe, gave immediate orders that the houſes

houſes which had given ſuch offence to the prieſts ſhould be ſhut up; and enjoined the officers of police to put a ſtop to the uſe of this liquor in private families. The ſtrong inclination they had for it ſtill prevailed over all theſe ſevere regulations. Coffee continued to be drunk, and the places where it was to be had, ſoon grew more numerous than ever.

In the middle of the laſt century, Kuproli, the Grand Vizir, went in diſguiſe to the principal coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople. He there found a number of mal-contents, who, thinking the affairs of government were in reality the concern of every private perſon, ſpoke of them with warmth, and arraigned with great boldneſs the conduct of the generals and miniſters. He then viſited the taverns, where wine was ſold. They were full of plain people, chiefly ſoldiers, who, accuſtomed to conſider the intereſts of the ſtate as thoſe of the prince, for whom they entertained a ſilent veneration, ſung lively ſongs, talked of their amours, and warlike exploits. Theſe laſt ſocieties, which are attended with no inconveniences, he thought ought to be tolerated: but the firſt he conſidered as dangerous in an arbitrary ſtate. He therefore ſuppreſſed them, and no attempts have ſince been made to revive them. This regulation, which was confined to the capital of the empire, has not diſcouraged the uſe of coffee, and has, perhaps, increaſed the conſumption of it. It is publicly offered to ſale in all the ſtreets and markets ready made, and is drunk in every family at leaſt twice a-day. In ſome it is always ready, it being the

cuſtom

cuſtom to offer it to all viſitors, and reckoned equally unpolite not to offer it, or to refuſe it.

At the ſame time that coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople were ſhut, they were opened in London. This novelty was introduced there in 1652 by a merchant of the name of Edward, who returned from the Levant. The Engliſh grew fond of it; and it has ſince been introduced among all the nations of Europe, but is drank with more moderation than in thoſe climates where religion prohibits the uſe of wine.

The tree that produces the coffee grows in the territory of Betelfagui, a town belonging to Yemen, ſituated upon a dry ſand at the diſtance of ten leagues from the Red Sea. It is cultivated in a diſtrict fifty leagues long, and fifteen or twenty broad: the fruit is not every where in equal perfection. That which grows upon high ground is ſmaller, greener, weighs heavier, and is generally preferred.

It is computed that Arabia contains twelve millions of inhabitants, among whom, in general, coffee conſtitutes a favourite article in their entertainments. None but the rich citizens have the pleaſure of taſting the berry itſelf. The generality are obliged to content themſelves with the ſhell and the huſk of this valuable production. Theſe remains, ſo much deſpiſed, make a liquor of a pretty clear colour, which has the taſte of coffee without its bitterneſs and ſtrength. Theſe articles may be had at a low price at Betelfagui, which is the general market for them. Here likewiſe is ſold all the coffee which comes out of the country

by

by land. The reſt is carried to Mocha, which is thirty-five leagues diſtant, or to the nearer ports of Lohia or Hodeida, from whence it is tranſported in ſmall veſſels to Jodda. The Egyptians fetch it from the laſt mentioned place, and all other nations from the former.

THE quantity of coffee exported may be eſtimated at twelve millions five hundred and fifty thouſand weight. The European companies take off a million and a half; the Perſians three millions and a half; the fleet from Suez ſix millions and a half; Indoſtan, the Maldives, and the Arabian colonies on the coaſt of Africa, fifty thouſand; and the Caravans a million.

As the coffee which is bought up by the Caravans and the Europeans, is the beſt that can be procured, it coſts from ſixteen to ſeventeen ſols * a pound. The Perſians, who content themſelves with that of an inferior quality, pay no more than twelve or thirteen ſols † a pound. The Egyptians purchaſe it at the rate of fifteen or ſixteen ‡; their cargoes being compoſed partly of good and partly of bad coffee. If we eſtimate coffee at fourteen ſols ‖ a pound, which is the mean price, the profits accruing to Arabia from its annual exportation will amount to 8,785,000 livres §. This money does not go into their coffers; but it enables them to purchaſe the commodities brought from the foreign markets to their ports of Jodda and Mocha.

MOCHA receives from Abyſſinia, ſheep, elephants teeth, muſk, and ſlaves. It is ſupplied

* About 8d. ½ † About 6d. ½ ‡ About 8d.
‖ About 7d. ½ § 384,343 l. 15s.

from the eaſtern coaſt of Africa with gold, ſlaves, amber, and ivory; from the Perſian Gulph with dates, tobacco, and corn; from Surat with a vaſt quantity of coarſe, and a few fine linens; from Bombay and Pondicherry with iron, lead, copper, which are carried thither from Europe; from Malabar with rice, ginger, pepper, Indian ſaffron, with coire, cardamom, and alſo with planks; from the Maldives with gum benzoin, aloes-wood, and pepper, which theſe iſlands take in exchange; from Coromandel, with four or five hundred bales of cottons, chiefly blue. The greateſt part of theſe commodities, which may fetch ſix millions *, are conſumed in the interior part of the country. The reſt, particularly the cottons, are diſpoſed of in Abyſſinia, Socotora, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

NONE of the branches of buſineſs which are managed at Mocha, as well as throughout all the country of Yemen, or even at Sanaa, the capital, are in the hands of the natives. The extortions with which they are perpetually threatened by the government, deter them from interfering in them. All the warehouſes are occupied by the Banians of Surat or Guzarat, who make a point of returning to their own country as ſoon as they have made their fortunes. They then reſign their ſettlements to merchants of their own nation, who retire in their turn, and are ſucceeded by others.

THE European companies, who enjoy the excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, formerly maintained agents at Mocha. Notwithſtanding it was ſtipulated by a ſolemn ca-

* 262,5col.

pitulation,

pitulation, that the impoſts demanded ſhould be rated at two and a quarter per cent. They were ſubject to frequent extortions: the governor of the place inſiſting on their making him preſents, which enabled him to purchaſe the favour of the courtiers, or even of the prince himſelf. However, the profits they obtained by the ſale of European goods, particularly cloths, made them to ſubmit to theſe repeated humiliations. When theſe ſeveral articles were furniſhed by Grand Cairo, it was then impoſſible to withſtand the competition, and the fixed ſettlements were therefore given up.

The trade was carried on by ſhips, that ſailed from Europe with iron, lead, copper, and ſilver, ſufficient to pay for the coffee they intended to buy. The ſupercargoes, who had the care of theſe tranſactions, ſettled the accounts every time they returned. Theſe voyages, which at firſt were pretty numerous and advantageous, have been ſucceſſively laid aſide. The plantations of coffee, made by the European nations in their colonies, have equally leſſened the conſumption and the price of that which comes from Arabia. In proceſs of time, theſe voyages did not yield a ſufficient profit to anſwer the high charges of undertaking them on purpoſe. The companies of England and France then reſolved, one of them to ſend ſhips from Bombay, and the other from Pondicherry to Mocha, with the merchandiſe of Europe and India. They even frequently had recourſe to a method that was leſs expenſive. The Engliſh and French who traffic

from India to India, viſit the Red Sea every year. Though they diſpoſe of their merchandiſe there to good advantage, they can never take in cargoes from thence for their return. They carry, for a moderate freight, the coffee belonging to the companies who lade the veſſels with it, which they diſpatch from Malabar and Coromandel to Europe. The Dutch company, who prohibit their ſervants from fitting out ſhips, and who ſend no veſſels themſelves to the Gulph of Arabia, are deprived of the ſhare they might take in this branch of commerce. They have alſo given up a much more lucrative branch, that of Jodda.

JODDA is a port ſituated near the middle of the Gulph of Arabia, twenty leagues from Mecca. The government there is of a mixed kind: the Grand Signior and the Xeriff of Mecca ſhare the authority and the revenue of the cuſtoms between them. Theſe impoſts are levied upon the Europeans at the rate of eight per cent. and upon other nations at thirteen. They are always paid in merchandiſe, which the managers oblige the merchants of the country to buy at a very dear rate. The Turks, who have been driven from Aden, Mocha, and every part of the Yemen, would long ago have been expelled from Jodda, if there had not been room to apprehend that they might revenge themſelves in ſuch a manner as to put an end to their pilgrimages and commerce.

SURAT ſends three ſhips every year to Jodda, which are laden with linens of all colours, ſhawls, cotton and ſilk ſtuffs, frequently ornamented with gold

gold and ſilver flowers. The ſale of theſe goods produces 10,000,000 of livres*. Two, and more frequently three veſſels belonging to the Engliſh, ſail from Bengal for the ſame deſtination. They are fitted out by the free merchants of that nation. Formerly their company had concerns there; at preſent theſe merchants have no aſſociates but the Armenians. Theſe united cargoes may be eſtimated at 7,200,000 livres †. They conſiſt of rice, ginger, ſaffron, ſugar, a few ſilks, and a conſiderable quantity of linens which are for the moſt part ordinary. Theſe veſſels, which may enter the Red Sea from the beginning of December till the end of may, find the fleet of Suez at Jodda.

This fleet commonly conſiſts of fourteen or fifteen veſſels laden with corn, rice and pulſe, for the uſe of Arabia They carry out for Aſia, Venetian glaſs, coral, and yellow amber, of which the Indians make necklaces and bracelets. They arrive in October, and return together in February, with 6,500,000 weight of coffee, and with linens or ſtuffs to the value of 7,000,000 of livres‡. Though they have only two hundred leagues to return to their port, they employ two months in the voyage; being retarded by the north wind, which blows continually in this ſea. Their ignorance is ſuch, that though they are accuſtomed to caſt anchor every night, they think themſelves fortunate when they loſe only one ſhip in ſix. If to theſe loſſes we add the

* 437,500l. † 315,000l. ‡ 306,250l.

great expence of equipment, the exceſſive impoſts demanded at Suez, and the unavoidable extortions of a government that oppreſſes all induſtry, we ſhall be convinced that, in the preſent ſituation of things, the correſpondence between Europe and India by this channel is impracticable.

THE merchandiſe brought from Surat and Bengal, which the Egyptian fleet does not take off, is partly conſumed in the country, and bought in great quantities by the caravans, which come every year to Mecca.

THE Arabs had ever entertained an affection for this city. They ſuppoſed it to have been the reſidence of Abraham, and they flocked from all parts to a temple, of which they believed he was the founder. Mohammed, who was a man of too much underſtanding to attempt to aboliſh a devotion ſo generally eſtabliſhed, contented himſelf with rectifying the object of it. He baniſhed the idols from this revered place, and dedicated it to the unity of God. Mohammed was not the meſſenger of heaven; but he was an acute politician, and a great conqueror. To promote the concourſe of ſtrangers to a city which he intended to make the capital of his empire, he commanded that all who embraced his law ſhould once in their lives undertake a pilgrimage thither, on pain of dying reprobates. This precept was accompanied with another, which makes it evident, that he was not guided by ſuperſtition alone. He ordered that every pilgrim, of whatever country he was, ſhould purchaſe five pieces

of cotton, and get them conſecrated, and made into handkerchiefs for himſelf, and all the perſons belonging to his family who were prevented by reaſonable impediments from undertaking this holy expedition.

THIS policy might naturally be expected to make Arabia the center of a prodigious trade, when the number of pilgrims ſhould amount to ſeveral millions. This zeal is ſo much abated, eſpecially on the coaſt of Africa, in Indoſtan and Perſia, in proportion to the reſpective diſtances of thoſe places from Mecca, that the number is reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand; the majority of whom are Turks. They carry away with them ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of linens; each ten ells in length, excluſive of thoſe which many of them buy for ſale. They are encouraged in theſe mercantile ſchemes by the advantages they have in croſſing the deſerts, and in not being expoſed to thoſe oppreſſive tolls which are ſo deſtructive in the ſea-ports of Suez and Baſſora. The money received from theſe pilgrims and from the fleet, and by the Arabs from the ſale of coffee, is expended in India. The veſſels from Surat, Malabar, Coromándel, and Bengal, annually carry away 14,400,000 livres *, and about the eighth part of this ſum in merchandiſe. When theſe riches are divided among the trading nations of Europe, the Engliſh have contrived to appropriate to themſelves the moſt conſiderable ſhare of them.

* 630,000l.

BOOK III.

They have acquired the ſame ſuperiority in Perſia.

General view of the trade in the Perſian Gulph, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

THE Engliſh nation had ſcarce been admitted into the empire of the Sophis, when, as we have obſerved, the Dutch reſorted there in great numbers. The trade of theſe republicans was at firſt eſtabliſhed on a very diſadvantageous footing; but being, by the civil wars of England, ſoon delivered from a rival whoſe various privileges were not to be overbalanced even by the greateſt œconomy, they were in a ſhort time without competitors, and conſequently acquired an authority to ſet what price they thought proper on the commodities they bought or ſold. The connections of the Perſians with the Dutch were formed on this deſtructive ſyſtem; when the return of the Engliſh, who were ſoon after followed by the French, gave a new turn to affairs, and put them upon a more equitable footing.

AT the time when the three nations exerted their utmoſt efforts to gain the ſuperiority, and theſe efforts turned to the advantage of the empire, they were haraſſed with a thouſand oppreſſions, ſome more unjuſt and odious than others. The throne was continually filled with tyrannical or weak princes, whoſe cruelty and injuſtice weakened the correſpondence of their ſubjects with other nations. One of theſe tyrants was ſo ſavage, that a great man of his court uſed to ſay, *That whenever he came out of the king's cloſet, he clapped both his hands to his head to feel whether it was ſtill upon his ſhoulders.* When the ſucceſſor of this tyrant was

told that the fineſt provinces in the empire were invaded by the Turks, he anſwered coolly, *That their progreſs gave him very little diſturbance, provided they would leave him the city of Iſpahan.* The ſon of the latter was ſo meanly enſlaved to the moſt frivolous obſervances of his religion, that he was ſtiled by way of deriſion, *Huſſein the monk, or prieſt:* a character leſs odious, perhaps, in a prince, but much more dangerous to his people, than that of impiety, or defiance of the gods. Under theſe deſpicable ſovereigns, mercantile affairs declined every day more and more at Gombroon. The Afghans deſtroyed them entirely.

THESE are people of Candahar, a mountainous country, lying north of India. They have ſometimes been ſubject to the Moguls, ſometimes to the Perſians, but more frequently independent. Thoſe that do not reſide in the capital live in tents, after the manner of the Tartars. They are of low ſtature and ill made; but are ſtrong, robuſt, ſkilled in the uſe of the bow, and in horſemanſhip, and inured to fatigue. Their manner of fighting is ſingular; a choſen band of ſoldiers, divided into two parties, fall upon the enemy without any order, only endeavouring to open the way for the army that follows them. As ſoon as the battle is begun, they fall back upon the flanks and towards the rear-guard, where their buſineſs is to prevent any perſon from giving way. If any ſoldier attempts to fly, they attack him with their ſabres, and compel him to return to his poſt.

ABOUT

ABOUT the beginning of this century, this fierce people left their mountains, invaded Perſia, carried devaſtation every where, and at length ſubdued it, after a bloody conteſt of twenty years. Fanaticiſm ſtill perpetuates the memory of the horrid outrages which they committed in the courſe of their conqueſt. An inſatiable zeal for the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, and an unconquerable averſion for the ſect of Ali, prompted them to maſſacre thouſands of Perſians in cold blood. In the mean time, the provinces they had not entered, were ravaged by the Ruſſians, Turks, and Tartars. Thamas Kouli-Khan drove theſe robbers out of this country, but ſhewed himſelf ſtill more barbarous than they were. His violent death gave riſe to new calamities. Anarchy aggravates the cruelties of tyranny. One of the fineſt empires in the world is become an extenſive ſcene of deſolation, and a laſting and ſhameful monument of that deſtructive inſtinct that animates uncivilized people, and is at the ſame time an inevitable conſequence of the evils of deſpotic government.

DURING this general confuſion, the Engliſh ſales in Perſia conſiſted of no more than a hundred bales of woollen manufactures, two hundred thouſand weight of iron, and the ſame quantity of lead. Theſe articles, taken together, brought them no more than from twelve to thirteen hundred thouſand livres * paid in money. This languid ſtate of trade determined the company to

* 554,687l. 10s.

follow

follow the example of their rivals, and to ſeek thoſe advantages at Baſſora, which they could not obtain at Gombroon.

BASSORA is a large city, built by the Arabs in the height of their proſperity, fifteen leagues below the place where the Tigris and Euphrates meet, and at the ſame diſtance from the Perſian Gulph, into which theſe rivers empty themſelves. Its inhabitants are computed at fifty thouſand; conſiſting of Arabs, fifteen hundred Armenians; and a ſmall number of families of different nations whom the hope of gain has attracted. Its territory abounds in rice, fruits, pulſe, cotton, and particularly in dates.

THE port of Baſſora, as thoſe who firſt eſtabliſhed it foreſaw, became a famous mart. The merchandiſe of Europe was brought thither, by the Euphrates, and that of India by ſea. The tyranny of the Portugueſe intercepted this communication. It would have been opened again when their power declined, had not this unhappy country continually been the ſcene of the diſputes between the Arabs, the Perſians, and the Turks. This laſt power being in quiet poſſeſſion of this harbour, have availed themſelves of the troubles of their neighbours to renew the trade. The mercantile buſineſs, which was before tranſacted at Gombroon, is at preſent centered at Baſſora, which has recovered its credit and importance.

THIS change has not been effected without difficulty. At firſt the people of the country would not permit the traders to come out of the river.

river. They foreſaw, that if theſe foreigners were permitted to ſettle in the city, they would not be ſo much under their direction, and might lay up in their magazines ſuch of their commodities as they could not ſell during one moonſoon, with a view of diſpoſing of them with greater advantage at another time. To this maxim, which was the reſult of an ill-judged avarice, were added others ariſing from ſuperſtitious notions. It was deemed a violation of the reſpect due to religion to permit infidels to inhabit a city, conſecrated by the blood of ſo many martyrs and ſaints of the Mohammedan perſuaſion; a prejudice that ſeemed to have ſome weight with the government; but theſe ſcruples were ſoon overcome. Pecuniary conſiderations were offered by the nations, and they were allowed to eſtabliſh factories, and even to diſplay their reſpective flags there.

Revolutions are ſo frequent in Aſia, that trade cannot poſſibly be carried on in the ſame continued track as it is in Europe. Theſe events, joined to the little communication between the different ſtates, either by land or by ſea, muſt naturally occaſion great variations in the quantity and value of commodities. Baſſora, on account of its great diſtance from the center of trade, is more expoſed to this inconvenience than any other place. However, upon an average, we need not be under any apprehenſion of departing much from the ſtricteſt truth, when we venture to eſtimate the merchandiſe annually brought there by way of the Gulph, at twelve millions.

millions*. Of this the Engliſh furniſh four millions †, the Dutch two‡, the Moors, Banians, Armenians and Arabs, furniſh the remainder.

THE cargoes of theſe nations conſiſt of rice, ſugar, plain, ſtriped and flowered muſlins from Bengal, ſpices from Ceylon and the Molucca iſlands; coarſe, white, and blue cottons from Coromandel; cardamum, pepper, ſanders-wood, from Malabar; gold and ſilver ſtuffs, turbans, ſhawls, indigo, from Surat; pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha; iron, lead, and woollen-cloth from Europe. Other articles of leſs conſequence are imported from different places. Some of theſe commodities are ſhipped on board ſmall Arabian veſſels, but the greater part is brought by European ſhips, which have the advantage of a conſiderable freight.

THIS merchandiſe is ſold for ready money; and paſſes through the hands of the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The Banians are employed in changing the coin current at Baſſora, for that which is of higher value in India.

THE different commodities collected at Baſſora are diſtributed into three channels. One half of them goes to Perſia, whither they are conveyed by the caravans; there being no navigable river in the whole empire. The chief conſumption is in the northren provinces, which have not been ſo much ravaged as thoſe in the ſouth. Both of them formerly made their payments in precious ſtones, which were become common by the plunder of India. They had afterwards recourſe to copper

* 525,000l. † 175,000l. ‡ 87,500l.

utenſils,

utenſils, which had been exceedingly multiplied from the great abundance of copper mines. At laſt they gave gold and ſilver in exchange, which had been concealed during a long ſcene of tyranny, and are continually dug out of the bowels of the earth. If they do not allow time for the trees that produce gum, and have been cut to make freſh ſhoots; if they neglect to multiply the breed of the goats which afford ſuch fine wool; and if the ſilks, which are hardly ſufficient to ſupply the few manufactures remaining in Perſia, continue to be ſo ſcarce; in a word, if this empire does not riſe again from its aſhes, the mines will be exhauſted, and this ſource of commerce muſt be given up.

THE ſecond channel is a more ſure one, by the way of Bagdad, Aleppo, and other intermediate towns, whoſe merchants come to buy their goods at Baſſora. Coffee, linen, ſpices, and other merchandiſe that paſs this way, are taken in exchange for gold, French woollen-cloths, galls, and orpiment, which is an ingredient in colours, and much uſed by the eaſtern people to extirpate their hair.

ANOTHER much leſs conſiderable channel is that of Arabia Deſerta. The Arabs, bordering upon Baſſora, repair annually to Aleppo in the ſpring, to ſell their camels. It is uſual to give them credit for muſlins, which they buy very cheap to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand livres *. They return in the autumn, bringing woollen-cloths, coral, hard-ware, and ſome glaſs and mirrors from Venice. The Arabian caravans are never moleſted in their journey; nor are foreigners in any danger, if they take care to carry

* 26,250l.

along

along with them a perſon belonging to each of the tribes they may happen to meet with. This road through the deſert would be univerſally preferred to that of Bagdad, on account of ſafety, expedition, and the advantages of ſale, if the Pacha of the province, who has eſtabliſhed tolls in different parts of his territory, did not uſe every poſſible precaution to hinder this communication. It is only by eluding the vigilance of his deputies, that one can prevail upon the Arabs to carry with them ſome goods, which will not take up much room.

Besides theſe exportations, there is a pretty large conſumption, eſpecially of coffee, at Baſſora, and the territories belonging to it. Theſe articles are paid for in dates, pearls, roſe-water, dried fruits, and grain, when that is allowed to be diſpoſed of to foreigners.

This trade would be more extenſive, if it were freed from the ſhackles that confine it. But the activity that might be expected from the natives of the country is continually damped by the oppreſſions they labour under, eſpecially at a diſtance from the centre of the empire. The foreigners are no leſs oppreſſed by governors, who derive from their extortions the advantage of maintaining themſelves in their office, and frequently of ſecuring their lives. Were it poſſible in ſome meaſure to aſſuage this thirſt of gold, it would ſoon be renewed by the rivalſhip of the European nations, whoſe ſole aim is to ſupplant one another, and who, to gain their ends, ſcruple not to employ the moſt execrable expedients. A ſtriking inſtance of this odious ſpirit of jealouſy happened in 1748.

Baron

Baron Knyphausen managed the Dutch factory at Baſſora with extraordinary ſucceſs. The Engliſh found themſelves in eminent danger of loſing the ſuperiority they had acquired at this place, as well as in moſt of the ſea-ports in India. The dread of an event which muſt wound at the ſame time their intereſts and their vanity betrayed them into injuſtice. They excited the Turkiſh government to ſuppreſs a branch of trade that was uſeful to it, and procured an order for the confiſcation of the merchandiſe and poſſeſſions of their rivals.

The Dutch factor, who under the character of a merchant concealed the ſtateſman, inſtantly took a reſolution worthy of a man of genius. He retired with his dependents and the broken remains of his fortune to Karek, a ſmall iſland at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the mouth of the river: where he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that by intercepting the Arabian and Indian veſſels, bound for the city, he compelled the government to grant him an indemnification for the loſſes he had ſuſtained by its behaviour. The fame of his integrity and abilities drew to his iſland the privateers of the neighbouring ports, the very merchants of Baſſora and the Europeans who traded thither. The proſperity of this new colony was daily increaſing, when it was forſaken by its founder. The ſucceſſor of this able man did not diſplay the ſame talents. Towards the end of the year 1765 he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of his iſland by the Arabian Corſair Mirmahana. The Company loſt an important poſt, and more

than

than two millions *, in artillery, proviſions and merchandiſe.

By this event Baſſora was freed from a rivalſhip that was prejudicial to its intereſts; but an unforeſeen and much more formidable one has ſucceeded in its room, which is that of Muſkat.

Muskat is a city in Arabia, ſituated on the weſtern ſide of the Perſian Gulph. The great Albuquerque made himſelf maſter of it in 1507, and ruined its trade, which he wanted to transfer wholly to Ormus. When the Portugueſe had loſt this ſmall kingdom, they were deſirous of reviving the trade at Muſkat, of which they ſtill kept poſſeſſion. Their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the merchants bent their courſe to Gombroon. They dreaded the inſolence of the old tyrants of India; and were unwilling to rely upon their fidelity. No veſſels entered the harbour except thoſe brought in by the Portugueſe themſelves. It ceaſed to be frequented by the ſhips of every nation, after theſe imperious maſters were driven from it in 1648. Their pride prevailing over their views of intereſt, made them no longer deſirous of going thither: and they had ſtill a ſufficient degree of influence to prevent any ſhips from entering the harbour, or going out of it.

The decline of their power tempted the inhabitants of Muſkat to the ſame acts of piracy, to which they themſelves had ſo long been expoſed. They made deſcents upon the coaſts of their ancient oppreſſors; and the ſucceſs they met with

* 87,500l.

encouraged them to attack the ſmall Mooriſh and European veſſels that frequented the Perſian Gulph. But they were ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed for their plunders by ſeveral nations, and eſpecially by the Engliſh, that they were obliged to deſiſt. From that period the city ſank into a ſtate of obſcurity, which was prolonged for a conſiderable time by inteſtine broils, and foreign invaſions. At length the government aſſuming a more regular form at Muſkat, and in the whole country under the juriſdiction of its Iman, its commerce began to revive about the year 1749.

THE articles of conſumption in the country itſelf are rice, blue linens, iron, lead, ſugar, and ſome ſpices; the returns for which are made in myrrh, incenſe, gum-arabic, and a ſmall quantity of ſilver. This trade, however, would not be conſiderable enough to invite ſhips hither, if Muſkat, which is ſituated pretty near the entrance of the Perſian Sea, were not an excellent mart for the innermoſt part of the Gulph. All trading nations begin to give it the preference to Baſſora; becauſe it makes their voyage ſhorter by three months; they are free from any kind of extortion; and impoſts are lowered to one and a half per cent. The merchandiſe, indeed, is afterwards to be carried to Baſſora, where it pays a tax of three per cent. but the Arabs ſail with ſo little expence, and have ſo many methods of eluding the tolls, that they will always find their account in diſpoſing of their goods at Muſkat. Beſides this, the dates, which are produced at Baſſora in greater plenty and perfection than any other article, and

are

are often ſpoilt on board large veſſels that ſail ſlowly, are conveyed with the utmoſt expedition in light barks to Malabar, and the Red Sea. There is a particular reaſon which will always determine the Engliſh, who trade for themſelves, to frequent Muſkat. They are there exempted from the five per cent. which they are obliged to pay at Baſſora, as well as at all other places where their company have made ſettlements.

The company have never attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves on the iſland of Bahareni; which we are at a loſs to account for. This iſland, which lies in the Perſian gulph, has often changed its maſters. It fell with Ormus, under the dominion of the Portugueſe, and was governed by the ſame laws. Theſe conquerors were afterwards deprived of it, and it has ſince undergone a variety of revolutions. Thamas Kouli Khan reſtored it to Perſia, to which it had belonged. This haughty uſurper at that time conceived the plan of forming a moſt extenſive empire. He wanted to make himſelf maſter of two ſeas, ſome coaſts of which he already poſſeſſed: but finding that his ſubjects oppoſed his deſign inſtead of favouring it, he had recourſe to one of thoſe arbitrary acts which tyrants make no ſcruple of exerciſing, and tranſported his ſubjects in the Perſian Gulph to the Caſpian Sea, and thoſe in the Caſpian Sea to the Perſian Gulph. He looked upon this double tranſmigration as the neceſſary means of breaking the connections which both theſe people had formed with his enemies, and of ſecuring their fidelity, if he could not engage their attachment. His death put a period to

his vaſt deſigns: and the confuſion into which his empire was thrown, afforded a fair opportunity to an ambitious and enterprizing Arab of taking poſſeſſion of Baharen, where he ſtill maintains his authority.

THIS iſland, famous for its pearl fiſhery even at the time when pearls were found at Ormus, Karek, Keſhy, and other places in the Gulph, is now become of much greater conſequence; the other banks having been exhauſted, while this has ſuffered no ſenſible diminution. The time of fiſhing begins in April, and ends in October. It is confined to a tract of four or five leagues. The Arabs, who alone follow this employment, paſs their nights upon the iſland or the coaſt, unleſs they are prevented by the wind from going on ſhore. They formerly paid a toll, which was received by the galliots on that ſtation. Since the laſt alteration, none but the inhabitants of this iſland pay this acknowledgment to their Scheik, who is not in a condition to demand them from others.

THE pearls taken at Baharen, though not ſo white as thoſe of Ceylon and Japan, are much larger than thoſe of the former place, and of a more regular ſhape than thoſe of the latter. They are of a yellowiſh caſt; but have this recommendation, that they preſerve their golden hue; whereas the whiter kind loſe much of their luſtre by keeping, particularly in hot countries. The ſhell of both theſe ſpecies, which is known by the name of mother of pearl, is uſed in Aſia for various purpoſes.

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THE annual revenue ariſing from the fiſhery in the latitude of Baharen, is computed at 3,600,000 livres*. The greateſt part of the pearls that are uneven, are carried to Conſtantinople, and other ports of Turky; where the larger compoſe part of the ornaments of the head-dreſs, and the ſmaller are uſed in works of embroidery. The perfect pearls muſt be reſerved for Surat, from whence they are diſtributed throughout all Indoſtan. The women have ſo ſtrong a paſſion for luxury, and the ſale of this article is ſo much increaſed by ſuperſtition, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any diminution either in the price or the demand. There are none of the Gentiles who do not make it a point of religion to bore at leaſt one pearl at the time of their marriage. Whatever may be the myſterious meaning of this cuſtom among a people whoſe morality and politics are couched in allegories, or where allegory becomes religion; this emblem of virgin modeſty has proved advantageous to the pearl trade. The pearls that have not newly been bored make a part of dreſs; but cannot have a place in the marriage ceremony, where one new pearl is at leaſt indiſpenſable. They are accordingly always ſold five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than thoſe which come from the Gulph, where they are taken. There are no pearls at Malabar; but it has riches of another kind.

General ſtate of the trade on the coaſt of Malabar; and that of the Engliſh in particular.

MALABAR is, properly ſpeaking, a country ſituated between Cape Comorin and the river of Neticeram. But to make our narrative the bet-

* 157,500l.

ter underſtood, by accommodating it to the notions generally received in Europe, we ſhall give this name to the whole track extending from the Induſt to Cape Comorin, including the adjacent iſlands, and beginning with the Maldives.

THE Maldives form a long chain of iſlands to the weſt of Cape Comorin, which is the neareſt part of the Terra Firma. They are divided into thirteen provinces, which are called atollons. This diviſion is the work of nature, that has ſurrounded each atollon with a barrier of rocks, furniſhing a better defence than the ſtrongeſt fortification againſt the impetuoſity of the waves, or the attacks of an enemy. The natives reckon the number of theſe iſlands at twelve thouſand; the ſmalleſt of which are nothing more than banks of ſand that are overflowed at high tides, and the largeſt very ſmall in circumference. Of all the channels that ſeparate them, there are only four capable of receiving ſhips. The reſt are ſo ſhallow, that they have ſeldom more than three feet water. It is conjectured, with probability, that all theſe different iſlands were formerly one, and that the force of the waves and currents, or ſome great natural event, has divided them into ſeveral portions.

IT is probable, that this Archipelago was originally peopled from Malabar. Afterwards the Arabians went there, uſurped the ſovereignty, and eſtabliſhed their own religion. At length the two nations were united into one; when the Portugueſe, ſoon after their arrival in India, reduced them to ſubjection. This tyranny was

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of ſhort continuance. The garriſon which held them in ſlavery was exterminated, and the Maldives recovered their independence. Since this period they have fallen under the yoke of an arbitrary prince, who keeps his court at Male, and has reſigned the whole authority to the prieſts. He is the ſole merchant in his dominions.

An adminiſtration of this ſtamp, and the barrenneſs of the country, which produces nothing but cocoa-trees, prevents the trade from being conſiderable. The exports conſiſt only of cowries, fiſh, and kayar.

Kayar is the bark of the cocoa-tree, of which cables are made, that ſerve for the Indian navigation. This is no where ſo good, and in ſuch plenty as in the Maldives. A great quantity of it is carried, with ſome cowries, to Ceylon, where theſe commodities are exchanged for the areca nut.

The fiſh called in the country conplemaſſe, is dried in the ſun. It is ſalted by dipping it ſeveral times in the ſea, and cut into pieces of the thickneſs and length of a man's finger. Cargoes of it are annually brought to Achen, which are purchaſed with gold and benzoin. The gold remains in the Maldives; and the benzoin is ſent to Mocha, where it procures in return about three hundred bales of coffee for the conſumption of theſe iſlands.

Cowries are white and ſhining ſhells. The inhabitants fiſh for them twice a month; three days before the new moon, and three days after. This empolyment belongs to the women, who

wade to the middle in water to gather them upon the ſands. They are put up in parcels, each containing twelve thouſand. Thoſe that are not circulated in the country, or carried to Ceylon are ſent to the banks of the Ganges. A great number of veſſels annually ſail from this river, laden with ſugar, rice, linen, and other leſs conſiderable articles for the uſe of the Maldives, and return with a cargo of cowries valued at about 700,000 livres*. One part is circulated in Bengal, where it ſerves as ſmall coin. The reſt is taken off by the Europeans, who uſe it with advantage in their trade with Africa. They buy it at ſix ſols† a pound, and ſell it from twelve to eighteen‡ in their ſeveral capitals: it is worth thirty-five livres‖ in Guinea.

THE kingdom of Travancor, which extends from Cape Comorin to the frontiers of Cochin, was not formerly in poſſeſſion of a greater ſhare of opulence than the Maldives. It is probable that it owed the preſervation of its independency to its poverty, when the Moguls made themſelves maſters of Madura. The father of the preſent monarch added more dignity to his crown than any of his predeceſſors. He was a man of great abilities. A neighbouring ſtate had ſent him two ambaſſadors, one of whom began a long harangue, which the other was preparing to continue. *Be not tedious*, ſaid the prince, with an auſtere brow, *life is ſhort*. This prince formed a ſmall body of troops of the French and Portugueſe deſerters, which,

* 30,625 l. † About 3 d. ‡ Near 8 d. on an average.
‖ 1 l. 10s. 7 d. ½

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in time of peace, performed the military duties in the citadel of Kotate, with as much regularity as our garriſons, and were of ſignal ſervice in enlarging his dominions in time of war. The interior parts of his country were benefited by his conqueſts, a circumſtance that rarely happens. He eſtabliſhed in them ſome manufactories of coarſe cottons, which were at firſt diſpoſed of among the Dutch at Tutocorin, and were afterwards carried to the Engliſh factory at Anjengo.

THERE are two European ſettlements in the kingdom of Travancor: that of the Danes at Kolechey is nothing more than a ſmall ſtorehouſe, where they might nevertheleſs be regularly ſupplied with two hundred thouſand weight of pepper. Such is their indolence, or their poverty, that they have made but one purchaſe, and that only of a very ſmall quantity, theſe ten years.

THE Engliſh factory at Anjengo has four ſmall baſtions without ditches, and a garriſon of a hundred and fifty black and white men. It is ſituated on a ſandy point of land at the mouth of a ſmall river, which, is three-fourths of the year choaked up with ſand. Its village is well peopled, and full of manufactures. This ſettlement is, in general, more lucrative to the agents of the company, who buy pepper, large cinnamon, and very good kayar on their own account, than to the company themſelves, who trade only for fifty thouſand weight of pepper, and ſome linens of ſmall value.

COCHIN was a place of great note when the Portugueſe arrived in India. They made themſelves

ſelves maſters of it, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Dutch. The ſovereign, at the time this place was taken from him, had preſerved his dominions, which, in the ſpace of twenty-five years, have been repeatedly invaded by the people of Travancor. His misfortunes have obliged him to retire under the walls of his ancient capital, where he lives upon a revenue of 14,400 livres*, which was ſtipulated to be paid him by ancient capitulations, out of the produce of his cuſtoms. In the ſame ſuburb is a colony of induſtrious Jews, who are white men, and ridiculouſly pretend to have been ſettled here ſince the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, but have certainly been in this ſituation a very conſiderable time. A town encompaſſed with fertile lands, and built upon a river that receives veſſels of five hundred tons burthen, and communicates by ſeveral navigable branches to the interior parts of the country, may naturally be expected to be in a flouriſhing condition. If it is otherwiſe, the blame muſt lie on the oppreſſive nature of the government.

THIS oppreſſive ſpirit is at leaſt as ſenſibly felt at Calicut: all nations are admitted thither, but none have any ſway. The ſovereign who reſides there at preſent is a Bramin. This is almoſt the only throne in India that is filled by a perſon of this firſt claſs. In other places the crown is worn by the inferior claſſes; and even by perſons of ſuch obſcure origin, that their domeſtics would

* 630l.

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be diſhonoured and baniſhed from their tribes, if they condeſcended even to eat with their monarchs. Theſe people take care not to boaſt of ſupping with the king: this prejudice is not, perhaps, more ridiculous than any other. It humbles the pride of princes, and deprives courtiers of one ſource of vanity. Such is the influence of ſuperſtition, that it gives riſe to the univerſal prevalence of opinion. By ſuperſtition artifice divides the empire with power: when the latter has conquered and enſlaved the world, the former interpoſes and preſcribes laws in its turn: they enter into a league with each other, mankind fall proſtrate, and ſubmit to their chains. Accordingly the Bramins, who are the depoſitaries of religion and the ſciences throughout Indoſtan, are every where employed by the Rajahs as miniſters or ſecretaries of ſtate, and make what arrangements they think proper; but affairs are not the better managed on that account.

The adminiſtration of Calicut is bad in general, and that of the capital ſtill worſe. No police is eſtabliſhed, no fortifications are raiſed. The trade, which is clogged with a multiplicity of impoſts, is almoſt entirely in the hands of a few of the moſt abandoned and faithleſs Moors in Aſia. One of its greateſt advantages is, that by the river Baypore, which is only at two leagues diſtance, it has the means of being furniſhed with teak timber, which grows upon the plains and mountains in great abundance.

The territories that border upon Calicut, and belong to the houſe of Colaſtry, are little known,

except by the French colony at Mahé, which is gathering freſh ſtrength, and that of the Engliſh at Tellecherry, which has experienced no misfortune. The latter has a fort flanked with four baſtions without ditches, a garriſon of three hundred Europeans, five hundred ſipahis, and to the amount of about fifteen thouſand inhabitants. The company to which it belongs receives from it annually fifteen hundred thouſand pounds weight of pepper.

If we except a few principalities that ſcarce deſerve mention, the ſtates we have been deſcribing properly conſtitute the whole of the Malabar coaſt, a country more agreeable than opulent. The exports are few, beſides aromatics and ſpices. The principal articles are ſanders wood, India ſaffron, cardamum, ginger, baſtard cinnamon, and pepper.

The ſantalum or ſanders grows to the ſize of a walnut-tree; the fruit, which in ſome degree reſembles a cherry, is of no value. The wood, which is better in Malabar than in any other place except Kanara, where it grows in ſtill higher perfection, is either red, yellow, or white. From the two laſt kinds an oil is extracted, with which the Chineſe, Indians, Perſians, Arabians and Turks anoint their bodies. It is likewiſe burnt in their houſes, and yields a fragant and wholeſome ſmell. The red ſanders is leaſt eſteemed, and is ſcarce ever uſed but in medicine.

The Indian ſaffron, called by the phyſicians curcuma, is a plant with leaves reſembling thoſe of the white hellebore; the flower is of a fine purple

ple colour, and the fruit has, like our cheſnuts, a rough coat containing the ſeed, which is round like a pea. The root, which has a bitter taſte, and has long been eſteemed of an aperient quality, was formerly uſed as a remedy for the jaundice. The Indians make a yellow die of it, and it is an ingredient in moſt of their diſhes.

THE cardamum is a grain generally uſed in Indian ragoûts: it propagates itſelf without ſowing or planting. Nothing more is required than, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon is over, to ſet fire to the herb that has produced it. It is often mixed with areca and betel, and ſometimes chewed afterwards. The ſort moſt eſteemed, which is ſmall, grows in the territory of Cananor; it is uſed in medicine chiefly to help digeſtion, and to ſtrengthen the ſtomach.

GINGER is a plant whoſe root is white, tender, and almoſt as pungent to the palate as pepper. The Indians put it into their rice, which is their common diet, to correct its natural inſipidity. This ſpice, mixed with others, gives the diſhes ſeaſoned with it a ſtrong taſte, which is extremely diſagreeable to ſtrangers. The Europeans, however, who come to Aſia in low circumſtances are obliged to accuſtom themſelves to it. Others adopt it out of complaiſance to their wives, who are generally natives of the country. It is here, as in all other places, much eaſier for the men to conform to the taſte and foibles of the women, than to get the better of them. Perhaps too the climate may require this manner of living.

BASTARD cinnamon, known in Europe by the name of caſſia lignea, is to be had at Timor, Java, and Mindanao; but that which grows on the Malabar coaſt is much ſuperior. The Dutch, deſpairing of being able to root up all the trees out of the foreſts that produce it, fell upon the expedient, during their ſuperiority in Malabar, of requiring the ſovereigns of the country to renounce their right of barking them. This engagement, which was never ſtrictly obſerved, has been leſs fulfilled ſince the nation that made it has loſt its authority; and the price of the cinnamon of Ceylon has been advanced in conſequence of that meaſure. The preſent produce at Malabar may be computed at two hundred thouſand weight. The ſmalleſt portion of it is brought to Europe, where it is ſold for good cinnamon by merchants who are not very honeſt; the reſt is diſpoſed of in India, where it is ſold at twenty and from thence to twenty-five ſols* a pound, though it coſts no more than ſix.† The trade is entirely in the hands of the free Engliſh merchants; it may admit of improvement, but will never be equal to that of pepper.

THE pepper-plant is a ſhrub whoſe root is ſmall, fibrous, and flexible; it riſes into a ſtem, which requires a tree or a prop to ſupport it. Its wood has the ſame ſort of knots as the vine; and when it is dry, it exactly reſembles the vine-branch. The leaves, which have a ſtrong ſmell and a pungent taſte, are of an oval ſhape; but they diminiſh towards the extremity, and terminate in a point.

* From 10d. ½ to about 13d. † About 3d.

From

From the flower-buds, which are white, and are ſometimes placed in the middle, and ſometimes at the extremity of the branches, are produced ſmall berries reſembling thoſe of the currant-tree. Each of theſe contains between twenty and thirty corns of pepper; they are commonly gathered in October, and expoſed to the ſun ſeven or eight days. The fruit, which was green at firſt, and afterwards red, when ſtripped of its covering, aſſumes the appearance it has when we ſee it. The largeſt, heavieſt, and leaſt ſhrivelled, is the beſt.

THE pepper-plant flouriſhes in the iſlands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and more particularly on the Malabar coaſt. It is not ſown, but planted; and great nicety is required in the choice of the ſhoots. It produces no fruit till the end of three years; but bears ſo plentifully the three ſucceeding years, that ſome plants yield between ſix and ſeven pounds of pepper. The bark then begins to ſhrink; and the ſhrub declines ſo faſt, that in twelve years time it ceaſes bearing.

THE culture of pepper is not difficult; it is ſufficient to plant it in a rich ſoil, and carefully to pull up the weeds that grow in great abundance round its roots, eſpecially the three firſt years. As the ſun is highly neceſſary to the growth of the pepper-plant, when it is ready to bear, the trees that ſupport it muſt be lopped, to prevent their ſhade from injuring the fruit. When the ſeaſon is over, it is proper to crop the head of the plant. Without this precaution there would be too much wood, and little fruit.

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THE pepper exported from Malabar, which was formerly entirely in the hands of the Portuguese, and is at present divided between the Dutch, English, and French, amounts to about ten millions weight. At ten sols a pound * it is worth five millions †: it is exported, with other productions, for half that sum. By the sale of these commodities the country is enabled to purchase rice from the Ganges and Canara, coarse linens from Mysore and Bengal, and several sorts of goods from Europe. The payments in money amount to little or nothing.

KANARA, a country bordering upon Malabar properly so called, was formerly more opulent. It was an almost inexhaustible granary of rice; but has been much on the decline since it submitted to the yoke of Heyder-Aly-Kan. The trade of this country, which was carried on with freedom at Mangalore the capital, is entirely engrossed by the conqueror, who will deliver his commodities to none but those who furnish him with arms, powder and ammunition. The Portuguese are the only people exempted from this law, who having been formerly masters of the province, have always retained one staple which supplies Goa.

THE commerce, that raised Venice from her canals, and Amsterdam from her marshes, had rendered Goa the center of the riches of India, and the most celebrated mart in the world. It is now reduced to nothing, though it is defended

* 5d.½ † 218,75l.

by

by two thouſand European ſoldiers, by a company of artillery, and by five thouſand ſipahis; and that it is an annual expence to the ſtate of thirteen or fourteen hundred thouſand livres *. Superſtition, the Autos da Fé, and the monks, extinguiſh all deſire of ſeeing it reſtored to its former ſtate. Deprived of ſo many fertile provinces, which implicitly obey its laws, it has nothing remaining but the ſmall iſland on which it is built, and the two peninſulas that form its harbour.

NEAR a century ago a power was eſtabliſhed by ſea and land to the north of Goa, the increaſe of which was not foreſeen by any body. The name of the founder of it was Konna Ji Angria. He made himſelf maſter of the ſmall iſland of Severndroog, where he had ſerved as a ſoldier, and built a light veſſel on which he embarked as a pirate. At firſt he confined his attacks to the Mooriſh or Indian veſſels trading upon that coaſt. His ſucceſs, experience, and the number of adventurers whom the fame of his courage and generoſity invited to join him, enabled him to engage in the greateſt enterpriſes. By degrees he acquired a dominion extending forty leagues along the ſea-coaſt, or which ran up between twenty and thirty miles in the inland country, according to the natural diſpoſition of the places, and the facility of their being defended. His ſucceſs and renown were, however, principally owing to his naval operations; which were continued with good fortune by his ſucceſſors. Theſe

* About 59,1001. on an average.

pirates being maſters of the coaſt, attacked the flag of all nations without diſtinction. Beſides a great number of ſmall veſſels, they took ſhips of the largeſt ſize from the European powers; the Derby and the Reſtoration belonging to the Engliſh, the Jupiter belonging to the French, and three Dutch veſſels at one time, one of which carried fifty guns.

The plans of the Engliſh were diſconcerted by theſe depredations. They had viewed with pleaſure the firſt attempts of theſe pirates, which threw the greateſt part of the trade, and the whole navigation into their hands; becauſe their ſhips were of greater force and better manned than thoſe of the country. They could no longer boaſt this advantage, when the veſſels belonging to Bombay, which traded upon the coaſt, were inſulted, cargoes plundered, and the ſailors taken priſoners. The precaution taken never to ſail without a convoy was very expenſive, and proved ineffectual. The convoys were often moleſted, and ſometimes taken. Theſe depredations determined the company in 1722 to join their forces with thoſe of the Portugueſe, who were equally exaſperated againſt theſe pirates; and it was determined between them to deſtroy the place of their reſort. The expedition was diſgraceful and abortive. That which was undertaken by the Dutch, two years after, with ſeven men of war and two bomb ketches, met with no better ſucceſs. At length the Murattas, upon Angria's refuſing to pay a tribute which had long been cuſtomary, agreed

agreed to attack the common enemy by land, whilſt the Engliſh attacked them by ſea. This confederacy obtained a complete conqueſt. Moſt of the harbours and forts were taken in the campaign of 1755. Geriah, the capital, ſurrendered the year following, and with it fell a power whoſe proſperity had been only founded on public calamities. By its ruin the power of the Marattas, which was formidable already, was unhappily increaſed.

THESE people, who had been long confined within the limits of their mountains, have by degrees extended themſelves towards the ſea, and at preſent poſſeſs the large ſpace between Surat and Goa, where they equally threaten theſe two cities. They are famous for their incurſions and depredations on the coaſt of Coromandel, the neighbourhood of Delhi, and on the banks of the Ganges; but the center of their greateſt ſtrength, and their fixed ſtation is at Malabar. That ſpirit of rapine, which they carry into the countries where they occaſionally make inroads, is forſaken in the provinces they have conquered. One may venture to foretell that Bacaim, Chaul, Dabul, and many other places, which were ſo long oppreſſed by the tyranny of the Portugueſe, will regain their former importance under the government of the Marattas. The fate of Surat is an object of ſtill greater conſequence.

THIS town was for a long time the only ſea-port for the exportation of the manufactures of

the Mogul empire, and the importation of whatever was neceſſary to ſupply its conſumption. To ſecure its allegiance, and provide for its defence, a citadel was built, the commandant of which had no authority over that of the town; care was even taken to chuſe two governors, who, from their character, were not likely to unite in oppreſſing trade. Some diſagreeable circumſtances gave riſe to a third power. The Indian ſeas were infeſted with pirates who interrupted the navigation, and hindered devout Muſſulmen from making voyages to Mecca. The emperor thought the chief of a colony of Coffrees, who were ſettled at Rajapour, would be the proper perſon to ſtop the progreſs of theſe depredations, and therefore appointed him his admiral. Three lacks of roupees, or 720,000 livres *, were aſſigned him for his annual pay. This ſalary not being punctually paid, the admiral ſeized the caſtle, and from that fortreſs laid the town under contribution. A ſcene of general confuſion enſued; and the avarice of the Marattas, which was always active, became more eager than ever. Theſe Barbarians, who had extended their uſurpations even to the gates of the place, had, for a long time, been allowed a third part of the duties, on condition that they ſhould not moleſt the inland trade. They contented themſelves with this contribution, ſo long as fortune did not throw more conſiderable advantages in their way. As ſoon as they perceived this ferment among the citizens,

* Between 30,000l. and 40,000l.

not

not doubting that one of the parties might be transported ſo far by reſentment as to open the gates to them, they drew their forces near to the walls. The traders finding their effects daily in danger of being plundered, called the Engliſh to their aſſiſtance in 1759, and aided them in taking the citadel. The court of Delhi confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of it, and in the exerciſe of the naval command, together with the appointments annexed to both commiſſions. This revolution reſtored tranquillity to Surat; but Bombay, which was the cauſe of it, acquired an addition of credit, wealth, and power.

THIS ſmall iſland, which is not more than twenty miles in circumference, was, for a long time, of little ſervice to the Engliſh. No man choſe to ſettle in a country, ſo unhealthy, as to give riſe to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monſoons:* the unwholeſomeneſs of the air was attributed to the bad quality of the water, the low marſhy grounds, and to the offenſive ſmell of the fiſh uſed in manuring the roots of trees. Every poſſible remedy was uſed to remove theſe cauſes of mortality. The number of inhabitants in the colony increaſed in proportion as theſe deſtructive principles were diminiſhed: it is computed to amount at preſent to fifty thouſand Indians, born in the iſland, or induced to ſettle there by the lenity of the government. Of theſe, ſome are employed in the cultivation of rice, a greater number in that of cocoa-trees which cover the plains, and the reſt are engaged in navigation

and other uſeful labours, which are continually improving.

BOMBAY was at firſt conſidered in no other light than that of an excellent harbour, which in time of peace ſerved as a place of refreſhment for the merchant-men frequenting the Malabar coaſt; and in time of war, as a winter ſtation for the ſquadrons that government might ſend to India. This was a very valuable advantage in ſeas where there are ſo few good bays, and where the Engliſh have no other but this. The ſettlement has ſince been rendered much more uſeful. The company have made it the mart of all their trade with Malabar, Surat, and the Perſian and Arabian Gulphs. Its ſituation has invited the Engliſh merchants to reſort thither; and by their means trade is carried on with greater ſpirit. The tyranny exerciſed by the Angrias upon the continent has compelled ſome of the Banians to take refuge at Bombay, notwithſtanding the averſion theſe people, who never drink ſpirituous liquors, muſt have for living in a place where the water is ſo bad. Some rich Moors have likewiſe removed hither in conſequence of the diſturbances at Surat.

IT is not to be imagined, that ſuch a number of men, who, with the advantages of induſtry and large capitals, were intent on amaſſing wealth, would remain inactive. From Malabar they furniſhed themſelves with ſhip timber, and kayar for cordage: theſe were worked up by the Parſees from Guzarat. The ſailors of the country, under the command of European officers,

officers, have been found able to navigate their ſhips. Surat furniſhes the cargoes, partly on its own account, and partly on account of the merchants of Bombay. They ſend out annually two ſhips to Baſſora, one for Jodda, one for Mocha, and ſometimes one for China. The cargoes of all theſe ſhips are immenſely rich. Other veſſels of leſs conſequence are diſpatched from the colony itſelf.

THE private ſhips of the company are deſtined for the factories they have eſtabliſhed between Surat and Cape Comorin. The rupees of Bombay, which have been ſubſtituted inſtead of thoſe at Surat throughout the coaſt, and in the interior parts of the country, give the company an advantage of five per cent. over all the nations that are their rivals. They likewiſe ſend cargoes to Baſſora, Bender-Abaſſi, and Sindi, where the ſale of their cloths is the principal object of their ſettlements. Thirteen or fourteen hundred bales are ſufficient to ſupply the conſumption. Their connections with Surat are ſtill more advantageous; this place buys of them a large quantity of iron and lead, and ſome woollen-cloths; the ſhips are freighted back from hence with manufactures to a great amount.

THE ſhips ſent from Europe formerly ſailed to the ſea-port, where they were to take in their lading. They now put in at Bombay. This alteration owes its riſe to the advantage the company have of tranſporting hither all the merchandiſe of the country without expence, ſince they have been inveſted with the dignity of admiral to the great Mogul, and in conſequence

of this appointment have been obliged to maintain a maritime force upon the coaſt.

THE detail into which we have entered, may incline the reader to ſuppoſe that the ſituation of the Engliſh at Malabar is equal to their wiſhes. It is nevertheleſs certain that they gain no more than 2,250,000 livres* from all the ſettlements they have upon this coaſt; whereas their annual expences exceed 6,000,000†.

IF the attention of the company had not been diverted by the great ſcenes in which they have been engaged on the coaſt of Coromandel and in Bengal, it is natural to believe their affairs would be in a better ſtate at Malabar.

THE fortifications at Bombay would not have been enlarged, then reduced, then extended again, and in ſhort altered at ſeveral different times. Had the plans been drawn by ſkilful engineers, and executed by honeſt workmen, thoſe enormous expences, which have excited ſuch a general indignation, might have been avoided.

THEY would have ſent from the Ganges, or from Europe, a fund ſufficient to purchaſe ſeven or eight rich cargoes every year, inſtead of three or four very ſlender ones furniſhed by a declining and almoſt deſerted trade.

THE feeble ſtate of the independent kingdoms of this continent, particularly towards the ſouth, and the anarchy and war in which they are perpetually involved, would have ſuggeſted a plan conducive to the welfare of the inhabitants, and

* Not quite 100,000l. † Above 260,000l.

to

to the intereſts of the nation, by whoſe influence it would have been procured.

In a word, the company might have obtained the iſland of Salſette, which was offered to them by the Marattas, on condition of their aſſiſting them, on a ſudden emergency, with five hundred men againſt the ſubah of the Decan: and by this arrangement they would have freed themſelves from the ſhameful neceſſity they are under of depending upon theſe people for ſubſiſtence.

The fertile iſland of Salſette, which is twenty-ſix miles in length, and eight or nine in breadth, was taken by the Marattas from the Portugueſe. Maſters of this poſt, they threatened Bombay, which is only ſeparated from it by a narrow channel fordable at low water. Now that the Engliſh have raiſed large fortifications, and placed a numerous garriſon in their colony, which is become of greater importance, an invaſion is impracticable. The Marattas themſelves are convinced of it; but they think it is in their power to ruin this ſettlement even without attacking it. This, they affirm, would eaſily be done by refuſing to furniſh it with proviſions from Salſette, and preventing its procuring them from the continent. Perſons of obſervation, who are well acquainted with the ſituation of the places, find ſomething more than probability in theſe ideas.

The truth is, that ever ſince that wrong ſtep was taken, though perhaps it was unavoidable, of putting into the hands of the Marattas all the ports which belonged to the Angrias, thoſe barbarians

barbarians have been daily augmenting their marine. Their ambition will increaſe with their power; and it is impoſſible that in proceſs of time, their claims and thoſe of the Engliſh ſhould not interfere.

If we might hazard a conjecture, we ſhould not ſcruple to propheſy that the company's agents will be the authors of the rupture. Beſide the propenſity to raiſe diſturbances, which is common to all that ſet of men, becauſe *confuſion* is favourable to their avaritious views: they are devoured with ſecret ſpleen at having no ſhare in thoſe immenſe fortunes, which are made on the Coromandel coaſt, and eſpecially in Bengal. Their avarice, jealouſy, and even their pride will incline them to repreſent the Marattas as turbulent neighbours, always intent upon the invaſion of Bombay: to magnify the facility of diſperſing theſe banditti, provided they have a proper force; and to give exaggerated ideas of the advantage of plundering their mountains filled with the treaſures of Indoſtan, which they have been accumulating during a whole century. The company accuſtomed to conqueſt, and having no longer any urgent occaſion for its troops on the banks of the Ganges, will adopt a plan that promiſes an acceſſion of riches, glory, and power. If thoſe who dread the ſpirit of ambition, ſhould prevail with the company not to embark in this new enterprize, it will be forced into it by its ſervants; and however the event of this war may operate upon its intereſts, thoſe who involve the company in it

will be ſure to be gainers. There is leſs reaſon to fear a misfortune of this kind on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa, which extend from Cape Comorin to the Ganges.

General trade of the coaſt of Coromandel, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

GEOGRAPHERS and hiſtorians always conſider theſe as diſtinct countries inhabited by two nations, whoſe language, genius, and manners have not the leaſt reſemblance. But as the commerce in both is nearly the ſame, and carried on in the ſame manner; we ſhall comprehend them both under the general name of Coromandel. The two coaſts reſemble each other in other reſpects. In both of them, there reigns from the beginning of May to the end of October an exceſſive heat, which begins at nine in the morning, and continues till nine in the evening. During the night it is always allayed by a ſea-breeze, that blows from the ſouth-eaſt; and moſt commonly this refreſhing gale begins at three in the afternoon. The air is leſs inflamed, though too hot the reſt of the year. It rains almoſt continually during the months of November and December. This immenſe tract is covered with a parched ſand for the extent of two miles, and ſometimes only one mile.

THERE were many reaſons why this country was at firſt neglected by the Europeans who came to India. It was ſeparated by inacceſſible mountains from Malabar, where theſe bold navigators endeavoured to ſettle themſelves. Spices and aromatics, which were the principal objects of their attention, were not be found there. In ſhort,

ſhort, civil diſſenſions had baniſhed from it tranquillity, ſecurity and induſtry.

At that period, the empire of Biſnagar, to which this vaſt country was ſubject, was falling to ruin. The firſt monarchs of that illuſtrious ſtate owed their power to their abilities. They headed their armies in war; in peace, they directed their councils, viſited their provinces, and adminiſtered juſtice. Proſperity corrupted them. By degrees they fell into a habit of withdrawing themſelves from the ſight of their people, and of leaving the cares of government to their generals and miniſters. This conduct paved the way to their ruin. The governors of Viſapour, the Carnatic, Golconda, and Orixa, threw off their dependence, and aſſumed the title of kings. Thoſe of Madura, Tanjore, Myſore, Gingi, and ſome others, likewiſe uſurped the ſovereign authority, but retained their antient ſtile of Naick. This great revolution had juſt happened, when the Europeans appeared upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

The foreign trade was at that time inconſiderable; it conſiſted only of diamonds from Golconda, which were carried to Calicut and Surat, and from thence to Ormus or Suez, whence they were circulated through Europe and Aſia. Maſſulipatan, the richeſt and moſt populous city in theſe countries, was the only market that was known for linens; they were purchaſed at a great fair annually holden there by the Arabian and Malayan veſſels that frequented that bay, and by caravans that arrived from diſtant

diſtant parts. The linens were exported to the ſame places as the diamonds.

THE fondneſs for the manufactures of Coromandel, which began to prevail here, inſpired all the European nations trading to the Indian ſeas with the reſolution of forming ſettlements there. They were not diſcouraged either by the difficulty of conveying goods from the inland parts of the country, where there was no navigable river; by the total want of harbours, where the ſea, at one ſeaſon of the year, is not navigable; by the barrenneſs of the coaſts for the moſt part uncultivated and uninhabited; nor by the tyranny and fluctuating ſtate of the government. They thought that ſilver would be induſtriouſly ſought after; that Pegu would furniſh timber for building, and Bengal corn for ſubſiſtence; that a proſperous voyage of nine months would be more than ſufficient to complete their ladings; and that, by fortifying themſelves, they ſhould be ſecure againſt the attacks of the weak tyrants that oppreſſed theſe countries.

THE firſt colonies were eſtabliſhed near the ſhore. Some of them obtained a ſettlement by force: moſt of them were formed with the conſent of the ſovereigns, and all were confined to a very narrow tract of land. The boundaries of each were marked out by a hedge of thorny plants, which was their only defence. In proceſs of time fortifications were raiſed; and the ſecurity derived from them, added to the lenity of the government, ſoon increaſed the number of

of coloniſts. The ſplendor and independence of theſe ſettlements ſeveral times raiſed the jealouſy of the princes in whoſe dominions they were formed; but their attempts to demoliſh them proved abortive. Each colony increaſed in proſperity in proportion to the riches and the wiſdom of the nation that founded it.

None of the companies that exerciſed an excluſive privilege beyond the Cape of Good Hope had any concern in the trade of diamonds; which was always left to private merchants, and by degrees fell intirely into the hands of the Engliſh, or the Jews and Armenians that lived under their protection. At preſent this grand object of luxury and induſtry is much reduced. The revolutions that have happened in Indoſtan have prevented people from reſorting to theſe rich mines; and the anarchy into which this unhappy country is plunged, leaves no room to hope that they will be again attended to. The whole of the commercial operations on the coaſt of Coromandel is confined to the purchaſe of cottons.

The manufacturing of the white cottons bought there, differs ſo little from that of ours, that it would be neither intereſting nor inſtructive to enter into a minute deſcription of it. The proceſs uſed in making their printed cottons, which was at firſt ſervilely followed in Europe, has ſince been rendered more ſimple and brought to greater perfection by our manufactures. The painted cottons, which are likewiſe bought there, we have not yet attempted to imitate. Thoſe who imagine

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we have been prevented from undertaking this branch merely by the high price of labour among us, are miſtaken. Nature has not given us the wild fruits and drugs neceſſary for the compoſition of thoſe bright and indelible colours, which conſtitute the principal merit of the Indian manufactures; nor has ſhe furniſhed us with the waters that ſerve to fix them; and which are good at Pondicherry, but excellent at Madras Paliacaten, Maſſulipatan, and Bimilipatan.

THE Indians do not univerſally obſerve the ſame method in painting their cottons; either becauſe there are ſome niceties peculiar to certain provinces, or becauſe different ſoils produce different drugs for the ſame uſes.

WE ſhould tire the patience of our readers, were we to trace the ſlow and painful progreſs of the Indians in the art of painting their cottons. It is natural to believe that they owe it to length of time, rather than to the fertility of their genius. What ſeems to authorize this conjecture is, that they have ſtopped in their improvements, and have not advanced a ſingle ſtep in the arts for many ages; whereas we have proceeded with amazing rapidity, and view with an emulation full of confidence, the immenſe ſpace that ſtill lies between us and the goal. Indeed, were we to conſider only the want of invention in the Indians, we ſhould be tempted to believe that, from time immemorial, they had received the arts they cultivate from ſome more induſtrious nation: but when it is remembered that theſe arts have a peculiar dependence on the materials, gums, colours, and productions of India,

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we cannot but be convinced that they are natives of that country.

It may appear ſomewhat ſurprizing that cottons painted with all colours ſhould be ſold at ſo moderate a price, that they are almoſt as cheap as thoſe which have only two or three. But it muſt be obſerved that the merchants of the country ſell to all the companies, a large quantity of cottons at a time; and that the demand for cottons painted with various colours makes but a ſmall article in their aſſortments, as they are not much eſteemed in Europe.

Though cottons of all ſorts are in ſome degree manufactured throughout the whole country of Indoſtan, which extends from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Ganges; it is obſervable, that the fine ſorts are made in the eaſtern part, the common ones in the center, and the coarſe ones in the moſt weſtern parts. Manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the European colonies, and upon the coaſt: they are more frequent at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues from the ſea, where cotton is more cultivated, and proviſions are cheaper. The purchaſes made there are carried thirty or forty leagues further into the country. The Indian merchants ſettled in our factories have always the management of this buſineſs.

The quantity and quality of the goods wanted are ſettled with theſe people: the price is fixed according to the patterns: and, at the time the contract is made, a third or a fourth part of the money agreed for is advanced. This arrangement is owing to the neceſſity theſe merchants themſelves

themſelves lie under of advancing money to the workmen by the partners or agents who are diſperſed through the whole country; of keeping a watchful eye upon them for fear of loſing what they have advanced; and of gradually leſſening the ſum by calling for the cottons as faſt as they are worked off. Without theſe precautions, nothing could be depended upon in an oppreſſive government, where the weaver cannot work on his own account, either becauſe his circumſtances will not permit, or becauſe he dares not venture to diſcover them for fear of exactions.

THE companies that have either ſucceſs or good management conſtantly keep the ſtock of one year in advance in their ſettlements. By this method they are ſure of having the quantity of goods they have occaſion for, and of the quality they chuſe, at the moſt convenient time: not to mention that their workmen, and their merchants, who are kept in conſtant employment, never leave them.

THOSE nations that want money and credit cannot begin their mercantile operations till the arrival of their ſhips. They have only five or ſix months, at moſt, to execute the orders ſent from Europe. The goods are manufactured and examined in haſte; and they are even obliged to take ſuch as are known to be bad, and would be rejected at any other time. The neceſſity they are under of compleating their cargoes, and fitting out their veſſels before the hurricanes come on, allow no time for nicety of inſpection.

IT would be a miſtake to imagine that the country agents could be prevailed upon to order

goods to be made on their account, in hopes of ſelling them with a reaſonable advantage to the company in whoſe ſervice they are engaged. For beſides that the generality of them are not rich enough to embark in ſo large an undertaking, they would not be certain of finding their account in it. If the company that employ them ſhould be hindered by unforeſeen accidents from ſending the uſual number of ſhips, theſe merchants would have no vent for their commodities. The Indians, the form of whoſe dreſs requires different breadths and lengths from thoſe of the cottons fabricated for our uſe, would not purchaſe them; and the other European companies would be provided, or certain of being provided with whatever the extent of their trade required, and their money enabled them to purchaſe. The plan of procuring loans, which was contrived to remedy this inconvenience, never has been, or can be uſeful.

It has been a cuſtom, time immemorial, in Indoſtan, for every citizen who borrows money to give a written inſtrument to his creditor. This deed is of no force in a court of judicature, unleſs it be ſigned by three witneſſes, and bears the day of the month, and the year when it was made, with the rate of intereſt agreed upon by the parties. If the borrower fails to fulfil his engagements, he may be arreſted by the lender himſelf. He is never impriſoned, becauſe there is no fear of his making his eſcape. He would not even eat without obtaining leave of his creditor.

The Indians make a threefold diviſion of intereſt; one of which is vice, another neither vice nor virtue,

virtue, and a third virtue: this is their manner of expreſſion. The intereſt that is vice, is four per cent. a month; and the intereſt that is neither vice nor virtue, is two; the intereſt that is virtue, one. The laſt is, in their opinion, an act of beneficence that only belongs to the moſt heroic minds. Yet though the Europeans who are forced to borrow meet with this treatment, it is plain they cannot avail themſelves of the indulgence without involving themſelves in ruin.

The foreign trade of Coromandel is not in the hands of the natives. In the weſtern part, indeed, there are Mohammedans, known by the name of Chalias, who, at Naour and Porto-Nuovo, ſend out ſhips to Achen, Merguy, Siam, and the eaſtern coaſt. Beſides veſſels of conſiderable burden employed in theſe voyages, they have ſmaller embarkations for the coaſting trade for Ceylon, and the pearl fiſhery. The Indians of Maſſulipatan turn their attention another way. They import white callicoes from Bengal, which they dye or print, and ſell them again at the places from whence they had them, at thirty-five or forty per cent. advantage.

Excepting theſe tranſactions, which are of very little conſequence, the whole trade is veſted in the Europeans, who have no partners but a few Banians and Armenians ſettled in their colonies. The quantity of callicoes exported from Coromandel to the different ſea-ports in India, may be computed at three thouſand five hundred bales. Of theſe the French carry eight hundred to Malabar, Mocha, and the iſle of France; the Engliſh twelve

hundred to Bombay, Malabar, Sumatra, and the Philippine Iſlands; and the Dutch fifteen hundred to their ſeveral ſettlements. Except five hundred bales deſtined for Manilla, each of the value of 2,400 livres *, the others are of ſo ordinary a kind that they do not exceed 720 livres † at prime coſt: ſo that the whole number of three thouſand five hundred bales does not amount to more than 3,360,000 livres ‡.

COROMANDEL furniſhes Europe with nine thouſand five hundred bales; eight hundred of which are brought by the Danes; two thouſand five hundred by the French; three thouſand by the Engliſh; and three thouſand two hundred by the Dutch. A conſiderable part of theſe callicoes is dyed blue, or ſtriped with red and blue for the African trade. The others are fine muſlins, printed callicoes, and handkerchiefs from Maſſulipatan, or Paliacate. It is proved by experience, that one with another, each bale, in the nine thouſand five hundred, coſts only 960 livres §, conſequently they ought to bring in to the manufactory where they are wrought 8,160,000 livres ‖.

THE payments are not entirely made in ſpecie either in Europe or Aſia; we give in exchange, cloths, iron, lead, copper, coral, and ſome other articles of leſs value. On the other hand, Aſia pays with ſpices, pepper, rice, ſugar, corn, and dates. All theſe articles taken together, may amount to 4,800,000 livres **. From this calculation it follows, that Coromandel receives 6,720,000 livres †† in money.

* About 100 guineas. † About 30 guineas. ‡ Not quite 50,000l.
§ 42l. ‖ Near 360,000l. ** About 210,000l. †† Near 300,000l.

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THE Engliſh, who have acquired the ſame ſuperiority upon this coaſt that they have elſewhere, have formed on it ſeveral ſettlements. In 1757, they took poſſeſſion of Madura, a conſiderable town, and tolerably well fortified: but they did not fix there with any commercial views. The cottons calculated for the eaſtern part of Aſia, and for Africa, which are manufactured in the kingdom of which Madura is the capital, are, for the moſt part, carried to the Dutch factories on the coaſt of the pearl fiſhery. The only uſe the Engliſh make of this acquiſition is to raiſe from it a revenue ſufficient to overbalance the expences that are unavoidably incurred there.

TRICHINOPOLY, though totally deſtroyed by the cruel wars it has ſuſtained, is of much more importance to them. This ſtrong poſt is the key of Tanjore, Myſore, and Madura, and gives them great influence in thoſe three ſtates.

IT was ſolely with the view of ſecuring an eaſy communication with this celebrated fortreſs, that they ſeized upon Devi-Cottah in 1749, whoſe territory is no more than three miles in circumference. There is no kind of manufacture carried on, either upon the ſpot, or in the neighbourhood, the only produce being ſome wood, and a little rice. The defence of this factory coſts about 40,000 livres *; an expence that takes away the whole profits of it. It would, notwithſtanding, be a poſt of importance, if what has been advanced by ſome intelligent men be true, that the Coleroon might, at an eaſy expence, be put into a condition to receive the largeſt veſſels. The coaſt of

* About 1,800l.

Coromandel would not then be without harbours; and the nation, maſters of the only port in thoſe parts, would have powerful means of improving their commerce, which their rivals would be deprived of.

In 1686, the Engliſh purchaſed Cudalore, with a territory extending eight miles along the coaſt, and four miles into the interior part of the country. This acquiſition, which they obtained of an Indian prince for the ſum of 742,500 livres*, was confirmed to them by the Moguls, who ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the Carnatic. Conſidering afterwards, that the fortreſs, which they found ready built, was more than a mile from the ſea, and that the reinforcements deſtined for it might be intercepted; they built fort St. David within cannon-ſhot of it, at the mouth of a river, and on the verge of the Indian Ocean. Since that three hamlets have been erected, which, with the town and fortreſs, are computed to contain ſixty thouſand ſouls. Their employment is dying blue, or painting the cottons that come from the inland parts of the country, and manufacturing the fineſt dimities in the world, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres†. The plundering of this ſettlement by the French in 1758, and the demoliſhing of its fortifications, have done it no laſting injury. Its ſpirit ſeems rather increaſed, though St. David has not been rebuilt, and Cudalore is only put into a condition of making a tolerable reſiſtance. A revenue of 144,000 livres‡ defrays all the ex-

* About 32,000l. † About 60,000l. ‡ About 6,300l.

pences

pences of this ſettlement. Maſſulipatan affords advantages of another kind.

THIS town, which paſſed from the hands of the French into thoſe of the Engliſh in 1759, is by no means what it was when the Europeans, at the concluſion of the fifteenth century, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. There are but a few cottons made or ſold there, which, notwithſtanding their beauty, cannot furniſh any conſiderable branch of export. Accordingly the new poſſeſſors conſider their conqueſt not ſo much as a market for buying, as for ſelling large quantities of goods. By means of the caravans which come from very diſtant places to furniſh themſelves with ſalt; and by the intercourſe they have formed with the inland parts of the country; they have contrived to eſtabliſh a demand for their cloths in the moſt remote countries of the Decan, and this trade is likely to flouriſh ſtill more. To this may be added the further advantage of drawing a revenue from the product of the ſalt, and that of the cuſtoms, amounting to 1,320,000 livres*, of which 600,000 livres † only are annually expended upon the ſettlement.

VIZAGAPATAN is a ſmall town, with little territory belonging to it, and not four thouſand inhabitants. Being ſituated between Maſſulipatan and Ganjam, it receives all the fine cottons that are made in that part of Orixa, amounting to five or ſix hundred bales, which coſt 480,000 livres ‡.

* Near 58,000l. † Little more than 26,000l. ‡ About 21,000l.

THE merchandiſe procured from all theſe places and from a few ſubordinate factories that vary according to circumſtances, is carried to Madraſs, which is the center of all the Engliſh tranſactions on the coaſt of Coromandel.

THIS town was built a hundred years ago by William Langhorne, in the country of Arcot, and by the ſea-ſide. As he placed it in the midſt of a ſandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water fit for drinking, but what was fetched from the diſtance of more than a mile, people were curious to know what reaſons could have determined him to make ſo bad a choice. His friends pretended that his view was to draw thither all the trade of St. Thomas, which has actually been the conſequence, while his enemies imputed it to a deſire of continuing in the neighbourhood of a miſtreſs he had in that Portugueſe colony. This ſettlement has increaſed ſo much ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment, that it has been divided into three diſtricts. The firſt of theſe, known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and in India by that of the White Town, is occupied by four or five hundred Engliſh, men, women, and children. It is defended only by a ſlight wall, and four ill-conſtructed baſtions. To the north lies the Black Town, which is larger, and ſtill worſe fortified; and is the quarter where the Jews, Armenians, Moors, and the richeſt Indians reſide. Beyond this are the ſuburbs, which are entirely defenceleſs, and full of inhabitants. The three diviſions of which the place is compoſed, two hamlets which lie at a ſmall diſtance from it,

and

and the whole territory, which is not more than fifteen miles in circumference, contain two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, almoſt all of them natives of India.

Among this vaſt number, there are but few weavers. Fifteen thouſand artiſts are employed in printing and painting the fine callicoes that are worn in Europe; and a conſiderable quantity of common cottons deſtined for the different ſea-ports of Aſia, particularly for the Philippine iſlands. There are, perhaps, forty thouſand people occupied in arranging and ſelling coral and glaſs-ware, with which the women in the interior parts of the country adorn their hair, or make necklaces and bracelets. Other branches of induſtry inſeparable from a large mart, employ a great number of hands. The inhabitants, who have deſervedly gained the confidence of the company, travel through Arcot and the neighbouring country, to buy what goods they have occaſion for. The moſt conſiderable among them lend money to the Engliſh merchants, who though not of the company, have liberty to traffic in the different ſea-ports of Aſia; they enter into partnerſhip with them, or embark on their veſſels goods for their own private account. The buſineſs carried on by the company and the private merchants taken together, has made Madraſs one of the moſt opulent and important places in India.

Besides the profits accruing to the Engliſh from the cottons they purchaſe in this town, and from the cloths and other merchandiſe they vend there, the cuſtoms, the duties upon tobacco and betel,

betel, and ſome other impoſts, bring in a revenue of 1,200,000 livres*. The continuation of theſe advantages is ſecured by a garriſon of a thouſand Europeans, and of fifteen or eighteen hundred ſipahis.

Such is the ſituation of the Engliſh company on the coaſt of Coromandel, conſidered merely as a mercantile body. Let us now examine it in a political light.

In 1751, the Engliſh undertook to make Mohammed-Ali-Khan nabob of Arcot. The execution of this great plan was attended with innumerable difficulties, which were at length ſurmounted, after a ſeries of battles, defeats, victories and negotiations, that laſted ſeveral years. The new ſovereign, who had ſtill many enemies remaining, committed the ſafety of his perſon to the care of his protectors, by fixing his reſidence at Madraſs; and placed his provinces under the cover of their arms, leaving to them the ſole charge of defending them. To enable them to ſupport the burden they had undertaken, and to reimburſe them for the money they had advanced, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould enjoy the revenues of the country, which in times of the greateſt proſperity amounted to 12,000,000 livres†, and are ſtill at leaſt 8,400,000‡. It is true we ought previouſly to deduct 2,880,000 ‖ for public expences, and as much more for their maintenance of the nabob; but there ſtill remain 2,640,000 livres §, clear income to the company. By this managment,

* Above 52,000l. ſterling. † 525,000l. ‡ Near 368,000l.
‖ 126,000l. § 116,000l.

they keep the Carnatic, which is the moſt induſtrious country in this immenſe tract, in a ſtate of abſolute dependence.

To ſtrengthen their influence ſtill more on theſe coaſts, the Engliſh had long meditated a plan of making a large acquiſition of territory in the neighbourhood of Maſſulipatan. In 1767 they ſucceeded ſo far as to procure, from the ſubah of the Decan, the ceſſion of the provinces of Candavir, Elur, Montaſanagar, Rajamandry and Chicacol. From this prodigious acceſſion of revenue and territory, they were induced to think that the only employment they ſhould have, would be to enjoy the advantages of their ſituation; when they obſerved a ſtorm coming upon them, which might poſſibly endanger, if not totally deſtroy their proſperity.

HYDER-ALI-KHAN, a ſoldier of fortune, who had learned the art of war from the Europeans, had made great conqueſts, and rendered himſelf maſter of Myſore. Relying upon his ſtrength and his reputation, he ſummoned the ſubah of the Decan, and the nabob of the Carnatic to join with him in driving the Engliſh out of Coromandel, threatening, if they refuſed, to ravage all their provinces. The company thought both their credit and intereſt concerned in anticipating the deſigns of an enemy who announced his reſentment and projects in ſo high a ſtrain, and they ſent out an army againſt him in March 1767.

COLONEL WOOD, who had the command of it marched forward with confidence; when to his great aſtoniſhment he beheld; in front, an army that

that he found punctually paid, and excellently well diſciplined, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe, with a conſiderable train of artillery. The war was carried on by artifice, a circumſtance very deſireable to Hyder, whoſe genius was ſubtile and fruitful in ſtratagems. He contrived to ſurprize his enemies in their camp, and carry off their proviſions and baggage; he ſeized their beſt poſts by procuring the moſt exact intelligence, drove their troops before him, vanquiſhed, diſheartened, and made them almoſt ready to revolt for want of pay; and at laſt alarmed them with the apprehenſion of ſeeing their capital beſieged, plundered, and deſtroyed. The panic was becoming univerſal, when ſome timely ſuccours arrived, which enabled the Engliſh general to regain his ground. On the 4th of October 1768, he found means to compel the Indians to a general engagement, which they had hitherto ſeemed deſirous to avoid. This was, perhaps, the moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement that had ever happened in this part of the world. At laſt, Wood remained maſter of the field where both ſides had fought ſo bravely: but this was all the advantage he gained by his victory.

HYDER, though defeated, kept up a menacing countenance, and was ſtill formidable. Terms of accommodation were propoſed to him. He liſtened to them with no ſmall indifference; and it was not without much negotiation, nor, if ſome accounts may be blieved, without conſiderable preſents that he was prevailed upon to conclude a peace after having carried on the war for two years. This prince

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continues to be conſidered by the Engliſh rather as an enemy, againſt whom it is neceſſary they ſhould be conſtantly on their guard, than as an ally on whom they may depend. Some of the moſt judicious among them are even of opinion, that unleſs their nation by ſome means or other gets rid of a neighbour too ambitious, and too active for its repoſe, it cannot ſecurely rely on the power which a combination of fortunate circumſtances has given it on the coaſt of Coromandel. Let us take a view of its ſituation in Bengal.

General trade of Bengal, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

BENGAL is a vaſt country of Aſia, bounded by the kingdom of Aſham and Arracan on the eaſt; by ſeveral provinces belonging to the Great Mogul on the weſt; by frightful rocks on the north, and by the ſea on the ſouth. It extends on both ſides the Ganges, which riſes from different ſources in Thibet, and, after ſeveral windings through Caucaſus, penetrates into India, acroſs the mountains on its frontier. This river, after having formed in its courſe a great number of large, fertile, and well peopled iſlands, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, by ſeveral mouths, of which only two are known and frequented.

TOWARDS the ſource of this river, was formerly a city called Palibothra. Its antiquity was ſo great, that Diodorus Siculus makes no ſcruple of aſſuring us that it was built by that Hercules to whom the Greeks aſcribed all the great and ſurprizing actions that had been performed in the world. In Pliny's time, its opulence was celebrated through the whole univerſe; and it was looked upon as the general mart for the people inhabiting

inhabiting both ſides of the river that waſhed its walls.

THE hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in Bengal, is intermixed with ſo many fables, that it does not deſerve our attention. All we can diſcover, is, that the extent of this empire has been ſometimes greater and ſomtimes leſs; that it has had fortunate and unfortunate periods; and that it has alternately been formed into one ſingle kingdom, or divided into ſeveral independent ſtates. It was under the dominion of one maſter, when a more powerful tyrant Akbar, grandfather of Aurengzebe, undertook the conqueſt of it; which was begun in 1590, and completed in 1595. Since this æra Bengal has always acknowledged the Mogul for its ſovereign. At firſt, the governor to whom the adminiſtration of it was entruſted, held his court at Raja-mahul, but afterwards removed it to Dacca. Ever ſince the year 1718, it has been fixed at Muxadavad, a large inland town two leagues diſtant from Caſſimbuzar. There are ſeveral Nabobs and Rajahs ſubordinate to this viceroy, who is called ſubah.

THIS important poſt was occupied for a long time by the ſons of the Great Mogul: but they ſo frequently miſemployed the forces and treaſure at their diſpoſal, to raiſe diſturbances in the empire, that it was thought proper to commit that province to men who had leſs influence, and were more dependent. True it is, the new governors gave no alarm to the court of Delhi; but they were far from being punctual in remitting the tribute they collected to the royal treaſury. Theſe abuſes

abuſes gained further ground after the expedition of Kouli Khan; and matters were carried ſo far, that the emperor, who was unable to pay the Marattas what he owed them, authoriſed them, in 1740, to collect it in Bengal themſelves. Theſe banditti, to the number of two hundred thouſand, divided themſelves into three armies, ravaged this fine country for ten years together, and did not leave it till they had extorted immenſe ſums.

During all theſe commotions, deſpotic government, which unhappily prevails all over India, maintained its influence in Bengal; though a ſmall diſtrict in the province that had preſerved its independence, ſtill continues to preſerve it. This fortunate ſpot, which extends about a hundred and ſixty miles, is called Biſſenpour. It has been governed time immemorial by a Bramin family of the tribe of Rajahputs. Here the purity and equity of the antient political ſyſtem of the Indians is found unadulterated. This ſingular government, the fineſt and moſt ſtriking monument in the world, has, till now, been beheld with too much indifference. We have no remains of ancient nations but braſs and marble, which ſpeak only to imagination and conjecture, thoſe uncertain interpreters of manners and cuſtoms that no longer exiſt. Were a philoſopher tranſported to Biſſenpour, he would immediately be a witneſs of the life led by the firſt inhabitants of India many thouſand years ago; he would converſe with them; he would trace the progreſs of this nation celebrated as it were from its very infancy; he would ſee the riſe of a government, which being founded in happy

happy prejudices, in a ſimplicity and purity of manners in the mild temper of the people, and the integrity of the chieftains, has ſurvived thoſe innumerable ſyſtems of legiſlation, which have made only a tranſitory appearance upon the ſtage of the world with the generations they were deſtined to torment. More ſolid and durable than thoſe political ſtructures, which, raiſed by impoſture and enthuſiaſm, are the ſcourges of human kind, and are doomed to periſh with the fooliſh opinions that gave them birth, the government of Biſſenpour, the offspring of a juſt attention to order and the laws of nature, has been eſtabliſhed and maintained upon unchangeable principles, and has undergone no more alteration than thoſe principles themſelves. The ſingular ſituation of this country has preſerved to the inhabitants their primitive happineſs and the gentleneſs of their character, by ſecuring them from the danger of being conquered, or of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures. Nature has ſurrounded them with water; and they need only open the ſluices of their rivers to overflow the whole country. The armies ſent to ſubdue them have ſo frequently been drowned, that the plan of enſlaving them has been laid aſide; and the projectors of it have thought proper to content themſelves with an appearance of ſubmiſſion.

LIBERTY and property are ſacred in Biſſenpour. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As ſoon as any ſtranger enters the territory he comes under the protection of the laws, which provide for his ſecurity. He is furniſhed with guides at free coſt, who conduct him from place

to

to place, and are anſwerable for his perſon and effects. When he changes his conductors, the new ones deliver to thoſe they relieve an atteſtation of their conduct, which is regiſtered and afterwards ſent to the Raja. All the time he remains in the country he is maintained and conveyed with his merchandiſe, at the expence of the ſtate, unleſs he deſires leave to ſtay longer than three days in the ſame place. In that caſe he is obliged to defray his own expences, unleſs he is detained by any diſorder, or other unavoidable accident. This beneficence to ſtrangers is the conſequence of the warmth with which the citizens enter into each other's intereſts. They are ſo far from being guilty of an injury to each other, that whoever finds a purſe, or other thing of value, hangs it upon the firſt tree he meets with, and informs the neareſt guard, who give notice of it to the public by beat of drum. Theſe maxims of probity are ſo generally received, that they direct even the operations of government. Out of between ſeven and eight millions * it annually receives, without injury to agriculture or trade, what is not wanted to ſupply the unavoidable expences of the ſtate, is laid out in improvements. The Raja is enabled to engage in theſe humane employments, as he pays the Moguls only what tribute, and at what times, he thinks proper.

THOUGH the reſt of Bengal is far from enjoying the ſame happineſs, it is nevertheleſs the richeſt and moſt populous province in the whole empire. Beſides its own conſumption, which is neceſſarily

* About 350,000l. on an average.

conſiderable, its exports are immenſe. One part of its merchandiſe is carried into the inland country. Thibet takes off a quantity of its cottons, beſides ſome iron and cloths of European manufacture. The inhabitants of thoſe mountains fetch them from Patna themſelves, and give muſk and rhubarb in exchange.

RHUBARB, which begins to be cultivated with ſucceſs in the highlands of Scotland, is not, as is commonly believed, a creeping plant; but grows in tufts at ſome diſtance from each other. There is no occaſion to ſow it, as the ſeed naturally falls to the ground, and produces a new plant.

MUSK is a production peculiar to Thibet. It is contained in a ſmall bag of the ſize of a hen's egg, which grows in the ſhape of a bladder under the belly of a ſpecies of goat, between the navel and the genitals. In its original ſtate it is nothing more than putrid blood which coagulates in this bag. The largeſt bladder yields no more than *half* an ounce of muſk. The ſmell of it is naturally ſo ſtrong, that, for common uſe, it is neceſſary to moderate it by mixing it with milder perfumes. The hunters, with a view of increaſing their profits, contrived to take away part of the muſk from the bladders, and to fill the vacuity with the liver and coagulated blood of the animal mixed together. The government, to put a ſtop to theſe fraudulent mixtures, ordered, that all the bladders, before they were ſewed up, ſhould be examined by inſpectors, who ſhould cloſe them with their own hands, and ſeal them with the royal ſignet. This

precaution has put a ſtop to the frauds practiſed to reduce the quality of the muſk, but not to thoſe which are calculated to increaſe the weight of it; they contrive to open the bags artfully and pour particles of lead into them.

THE trade of Thibet is nothing in compariſon of that which Bengal carries on with Agra, Delhi, and the provinces adjacent to thoſe ſuperb capitals, in ſalt, ſugar, opium, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, and an infinite quantity of cottons, and particularly muſlins. Theſe articles, taken together, amounted formerly to more than forty millions a year*. So conſiderable a ſum was not conveyed to the banks of the Ganges; but it was the means of retaining one nearly equal, which muſt have iſſued from thence to pay the duties, or for other purpoſes Since the viceroys of the Mogul have made themſelves nearly independent, and ſend him no revenues but ſuch as they chuſe to allow him, the luxury of the court is greatly abated, and the trade we have been ſpeaking of is no longer ſo conſiderable.

THE maritime trade of Bengal managed by the natives of the country, has not ſuffered the ſame diminution, nor was it ever ſo extenſive, as the other. It may be divided into two branches, of which Catek is in poſſeſſion of the greater part.

CATEK is a diſtrict of ſome extent, a little below the moſt weſtern mouth of the Ganges. Balaſore, ſituated upon a navigable river, ſerves it for a port. The navigation to the Maldives, which the Engliſh and French have been obliged to abandon on ac-

* 1,750,000l

count of the climate, is carried on entirely from this road. Here they load their veſſels with rice, coarſe cottons, and ſome ſilk-ſtuffs for theſe iſlands, and receive cowries in exchange, which are uſed for money in Bengal, and are ſold to the Europeans.

The inhabitants of Catek, and ſome other people of the Lower Ganges, maintain a conſiderable correſpondence with the country of Aſham. This kingdom, which is thought to have formerly made a part of Bengal, and is only divided from it by a river that falls into the Ganges, deſerves to be better known, if what is aſſerted be true, that gunpowder has been diſcovered there, and that it was communicated from Aſham to Pegu, and from Pegu to China. Its gold, ſilver, iron and lead mines would have added to its fame, if they had been properly worked. In the midſt of theſe riches, which were of very little ſervice to this kingdom, ſalt was an article of which the inhabitants were ſo much in want, that they were reduced to the expedient of procuring it from a decoction of certain plants.

In the beginning of the preſent century, ſome Bramins of Bengal carried their ſuperſtitions to Aſham, where the people were ſo happy as to be guided ſolely by the dictates of natural religion. The prieſts perſuaded them, that it would be more agreeable to Brama if they ſubſtituted the pure and wholſome ſalt of the ſea to that which they uſed. The ſovereign conſented to this, on condition that the excluſive trade ſhould be in his hands; that it ſhould only be brought by the people of Bengal, and that the boats laden with it ſhould ſtop at the

frontiers of his dominions. Thus have all theſe falſe religions been introduced by the influence and for the advantage of the prieſts who teach, and of the kings who admit them. Since this arrangement has taken place, forty veſſels from 5 to 600 tons burden each are annually ſent from the Ganges to Aſham laden with ſalt, which yields two hundred per cent. profit. They receive in payment a ſmall quantity of gold and ſilver, ivory, muſk, eagle-wood, gum-lac, and a large quantity of ſilk.

THIS ſilk, which is ſingular in its kind, requires no trouble; it is found on the trees where the ſilk-worms are produced, nouriſhed, and undergo their ſeveral metamorphoſes. The inhabitants have no other trouble but that of collecting it. The neglected cods produce a new generation; during the growth of which, the tree puts forth new leaves, which ſerve ſucceſſively for the nouriſhment of the young worms. Theſe revolutions are repeated twelve times in a year, but do not produce ſo much in the rainy as in the dry ſeaſons. The ſtuffs made of this ſilk have a great deal of luſtre, but do not laſt long.

EXCEPTING theſe two branches of maritime trade, which, for particular reaſons, have been confined to the natives of the country, all the reſt of the veſſels ſent from the Ganges to the different ſea-ports of India belong to the Europeans, and are built at Pegu.

PEGU is a country ſituated on the Gulph of Bengal, between the kingdoms of Arracan and Siam. Revolutions, which are ſo common in all

the deſpotic empires of Aſia, have been here more frequently repeated than in any other. It has alternately been the center of a great power, and a province to ſeveral ſtates leſs extenſive than itſelf. It is at preſent dependent upon Ava.

THE only port of Pegu that is open to ſtrangers is Syriam. The Portugueſe, during their proſperity, were long in poſſeſſion of it, and it was then in great repute. At preſent it is ſcarce frequented but by the Europeans ſettled on the coaſt of Coromandel and Bengal. The latter can only ſell there ſome coarſe cottons, nor would they viſit it at all, except for the building or refitting of their ſhips; for which purpoſe they are furniſhed with all neceſſary materials (except iron and cordage) of an excellent quality, and at a moderate price. Since the diſguſt taken at the high rate of ſhip-building at Surat, Syriam is become a kind of general dock-yard for all veſſels employed in the country trade.

THEIR exports conſiſt of teak timber, wax, ivory, ſome calin, and an excellent oil for the preſervation of ſhips. The fineſt topazes, ſaphires, amethyſts, and rubies, in the world, come from Pegu. They are ſeldom to be met with at Syriam, nor can they be had without reſorting to the court, which is kept at Ava. The Armenians have for ſome time had ſuch an aſcendent, that they make the trade difficult to the Europeans, and even to the Engliſh, who are the only people that have formed a ſettlement at Pegu.

A STILL more conſiderable branch of commerce, which the Europeans at Bengal carry on with

with the reſt of India, is that of opium. Opium is the produce of a ſpecies of poppy, whoſe root is nearly as large as a man's finger, abounding, as well as the reſt of the plant, with a bitter juice. The ſtem, which is commonly pliable, and ſometimes rather hairy, is two cubits high, and produces leaves reſembling thoſe of the lettuce, oblong, indented, curled, and of a ſea-green colour. Its flower is in the form of a roſe. When the poppy is full of ſap, a ſlight inciſion is made at the top, from whence diſtil ſome drops of a milky liquor, which is left to congeal, and is afterwards gathered. This operation is repeated three times, but the produce gradually diminiſhes in quantity, nor is it of ſo good a quality. When the opium is gathered, it is moiſtened and kneaded with water or honey, till it acquires the conſiſtence, viſcidity, and gloſſineſs of pitch when it is well prepared, and is then made into ſmall cakes. That which is rather ſoft, and yields to the touch, is inflammable, of a blackiſh-brown colour, and has a ſtrong fœtid ſmell, is eſteemed the beſt; on the contrary, that which is dry, friable, burnt, and mixed with earth and ſand, is thought good for nothing. According to the different manner of preparing it, and the doſes in which it is given, it ſtupifies, excites agreeable ideas, or occaſions madneſs.

PATNA, ſituated on the Upper Ganges, is the moſt celebrated place in the world for the cultivation of opium. The fields are covered with it. Beſides what is carried into the inland parts, there are annually three or four thouſand cheſts

exported, each weighing three hundred pounds. It ſells upon the ſpot at the rate of five or ſix hundred livres * a cheſt. This opium is not purified like that of Syria and Perſia, which we make uſe of in Europe; it is only a paſte that has undergone no preparation, and has not a tenth part of the virtue of purified opium.

An exceſſive fondneſs for opium prevails in all the countries to the eaſt of India. The Chineſe emperors have ſuppreſſed it in their dominions, by condemning to the flames every veſſel that imports this ſpecies of poiſon, and every houſe that receives it. On the Malayan coaſt, at Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macaſſar, and Sumatra, the conſumption is incredible. Theſe people ſmoke it with their tobacco. Thoſe who are going to perform ſome deſperate action intoxicate themſelves with this ſmoke. They then encounter indiſcriminately every thing they meet; and ruſh with impetuoſity upon the enemy, through the moſt imminent danger. The Dutch, who are in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the places where opium makes the greateſt havock, have been more intent on the profits ariſing from the ſale of this article, than touched with compaſſion for its numerous victims. Rather than prohibit the uſe of it, they have authorized individuals to maſſacre all thoſe who, being diſordered with opium, appear in the ſtreets armed. Thus it is that ſome ſyſtems of legiſlation introduce and keep up intoxicating and violent paſſions and opinions; and when once theſe have prevailed among the

* Between 24l. and 25l. on an average.

people,

people, nothing but death or tortures can put an end to them.

The Dutch company formerly carried on the trade of opium in their ſettlements. They vended but little, becauſe four hundred per cent. was gained by ſmuggling it. In 1743, they reſigned this branch to a particular ſociety, to which they deliver a certain quantity of opium at a fixed price. The gains of this ſociety, which conſiſts of the principal members of the government of Batavia, are immenſe; no one venturing to expoſe himſelf to their reſentment by purſuing a contraband trade incompatible with their intereſts. The coaſt of Malacca, and part of the iſland of Sumatra, are ſupplied with opium by the free Engliſh merchants, who gain more by this merchandiſe than by the common cottons they bring to theſe different markets.

The Dutch alſo ſend rice and ſugar to the coaſt of Coromandel, for which they are paid in ſpecie, unleſs they have the good fortune to meet with ſome foreign merchandiſe at a cheap rate. They ſend out one or two veſſels laden with rice, cottons and ſilk: the rice is ſold in Ceylon, the cottons at Malabar, and the ſilk at Surat; from whence they bring back cotton, which is uſefully employed in the coarſer manufactures of Bengal. Two or three ſhips laden with rice, gum-lac, and cotton ſtuffs are ſent to Baſſora, and return with dried fruits, roſe-water, and a quantity of gold. The rich merchandiſe carried to Arabia is paid for intirely in gold and ſilver. The trade of the Ganges with the other

ſea-ports

ſea-ports of India brings twenty-eight millions * annually into Bengal.

THOUGH this trade paſſes through the hands of the Europeans, and is carried on under their protection, it is not intirely on their own account. The Moguls, indeed, who are uſually ſatisfied with the places they hold under the government; have ſeldom any concern in theſe expeditions; but the Armenians, who, ſince the revolutions in Perſia, are ſettled upon the banks of the Ganges, to which they formerly only made voyages, readily throw their capitals into this trade. The Indians employ ſtill larger ſums in it. The impoſſibility of enjoying their fortunes under an oppreſſive government, does not deter the natives of this country from labouring inceſſantly to increaſe them. As they would run too great a riſque by engaging openly in trade, they are obliged to have recourſe to clandeſtine methods. As ſoon as an European arrives, the Gentoos, who know mankind better than is commonly ſuppoſed, ſtudy his character: and if they find him frugal, active, and well informed, offer to act as his brokers and caſhiers, and lend or procure him money upon bottomry, or at intereſt. This intereſt, which is uſually nine per cent. at leaſt, is higher, when he is under a neceſſity of borrowing of the Cheyks.

THESE Cheyks are a powerful family of Indians, who have, time immemorial, inhabited the banks of the Ganges. Their riches have long

* 1,225,000l.

ago

ago procured them the management of the bank belonging to the court, the farming of the public revenue, and the direction of the money, which they coin afreſh every year, in order to receive annually the benefit ariſing from the mint. By uniting ſo many advantages, they are enabled to lend the government, forty *, ſixty †, or even a hundred millions ‡ at a time. When the government finds it impoſſible to refund the money, they are allowed to indemnify themſelves by oppreſſing the people. That ſo prodigious a capital ſhould be preſerved in the center of tyranny, and in the midſt of revolutions, appears incredible. It is not poſſible to conceive how ſuch a ſtructure could be raiſed, much leſs how it could be ſupported for ſo long a time. To explain this myſtery it muſt be obſerved, that this family has always maintained a ſuperior influence at the court of Delhi; that the Nabobs and Rajahs in Bengal are dependent upon it; that thoſe who are about the perſon of the ſubah have conſtantly been its creatures; and that the ſubah himſelf has been maintained or dethroned by the intrigues of this family. To this we may add, that the different branches of it, and the wealth belonging to them being diſperſed, it has never been poſſible to ruin above one half of the family at a time, which would ſtill have left them more reſources than were neceſſary to enable them to purſue their revenge to the utmoſt. The Europeans who

* 1,750,000l. † 2,625,000l. ‡ 4,375,000l.

frequent

frequent the Ganges have not been ſufficiently alarmed at this deſpotiſm, which ought to have prevented them from ſubmitting to a dependence upon the Cheyks. They have fallen into the ſnare, by borrowing conſiderable ſums of theſe avaritious financiers, apparently at nine, but in reality at thirteen per cent. if we take into the account the difference between the money that is lent them, and that in which they are obliged to make their payments. The engagements entered into by the French and Dutch companies have been kept within ſome bounds; but thoſe of the Engliſh company have been unlimited. In 1755 they were indebted to the Cheyks about eight and twenty millions *.

Such is the conduct of this conſiderable ſet of men, who are ſole managers of the European trade at Bengal. The Portugueſe, who firſt frequented this rich country, had the wiſdom to eſtabliſh themſelves at Chatigan, a port ſituated upon the frontier of Arracan, not far from the moſt eaſtern branch of the Ganges. The Dutch, who, without incurring the reſentment of an enemy at that time ſo formidable, were deſirous of ſharing in their good fortune, were engaged in ſearching for a port, which, without obſtructing their plan, would expoſe them the leaſt to hoſtilities. In 1603, their attention was directed to Balaſore; and all the companies, rather through imitation than in conſequence of any well concerted ſchemes, followed their example.

* 1,225,000l.

ample. Experience taught them the propriety of fixing as near as poſſible to the markets from whence they had their merchandiſe; and they ſailed up that branch of the Ganges, which ſeparating itſelf from the main river at Mourcha above Caſſimbuzar, falls into the ſea near Balaſore under the name of the river Hughly. The government of the country permitted them to erect warehouſes wherever there was plenty of manufactures, and to fortify themſelves upon this river.

The firſt town that is met with in paſſing up the river is Calcutta, the principal ſettlement of the Engliſh company. The air here is unhealthy, the water brackiſh, the anchorage not very ſafe, and the neighbouring country affords but few manufactures. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, great numbers of rich Armenian, Mooriſh, and India merchants, invited by the proſpect of liberty and ſecurity, have fixed their reſidence here. The people have multiplied in proportion through a territory of three or four leagues in circumference, of which the company are the ſole ſovereigns. The fortreſs has this advantage, that the veſſels bound to the European ſettlements are obliged to paſs under its cannon.

Six leagues higher is ſituated Frederic Nagore founded by the Danes in 1756, in order to ſupply the place of an ancient ſettlement, where they could not maintain their ground. This new eſtabliſhment has not yet acquired any importance, and there is all the reaſon imaginable to believe, that it will never become conſiderable.

Chan-

CHANDERNAGORE, which lies two leagues and an half higher, belongs to the French. It has the diſadvantage of being ſomewhat expoſed on the weſtern ſide; but its harbour is excellent, and the air is as pure as it can be on the banks of the Ganges. Whenever any building is undertaken that requires ſtrength, it muſt here, as well as in all other parts of Bengal, be built upon piles: it being impoſſible to dig three or four feet deep without coming at water. This diſtrict, which is hardly a league in circumference, has been crouded with manufactures ever ſince the invaſion of the Marattas obliged the natives of the country to retire hither for refuge. Here is a large manufacture of handkerchiefs, and ſtriped muſlins; which have, indeed, rather degenerated ſince their removal. This active ſpirit of induſtry has not, however, made Chandernagore the rival of Calcutta, whoſe immenſe riches enable it to undertake the moſt extenſive commercial enterprizes.

AT the diſtance of a mile from Chandernagore, is Chinſura, better known by the name of Dougli, being ſituated near the ſuburbs of that antiently renowned city. The Dutch have no other poſſeſſions there, but merely their fort; the territory round it, depending on the government of the country, which hath frequently made it feel its power by its extortions. Another inconvenience attending this ſettlement is a ſand-bank that prevents ſhips from coming up to it; they proceed no further than Tulta, which is twenty miles below

below Calcutta, and this of courſe occaſions an additional expence to the government.

THE Portugueſe had formerly made Bandel, which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ganges, and a quarter of a league above the Hughly, the principal ſeat of their commerce. Their flag is ſtill diſplayed, and there are a few unhappy wretches remaining there, who have forgotten their country after having been forgotten by it. This factory has no other employment than that of ſupplying the Moors and the Dutch with miſtreſſes.

EXCEPT in the months of October, November, and December, when the frequent and almoſt continued hurricanes render the Gulph of Bengal impracticable; European ſhips may enter the Ganges during the remainder of the year. Thoſe that deſign to go up the river, previouſly touch at Point Palmiras, where they are received by pilots of their own nation who reſide at Balaſore. The money they convey is put on board ſome ſloops of between ſixty and a hundred tons belonging to the harbour, which always precede the ſhips. The paſſage into the river Hughly lies through a narrow ſtraight between two ſand-banks. The ſhips uſed formerly to come to an anchor at Culpy, but time has worn off the dread of thoſe currents, quickſands, and ſhoals that ſeemed to choke up the navigation of the river, and the ſhips have been brought up to their reſpective places of deſtination. This boldneſs has occaſioned many ſhipwrecks; but in proportion as more experience has been gained, and the ſpirit of obſervation has been carried

carried further, accidents of that kind have been leſs frequent. It is to be hoped that the example of admiral Watſon, who ſailed as high as Chandernagore in a ſeventy-gun-ſhip, will not be forgotten; as a proper attention to it would ſave a great deal of time, trouble and expence.

Besides this great channel, there is another by which goods may be brought from the places which furniſh them to the principal ſettlement of each company. For this purpoſe a number of ſmall fleets are employed, conſiſting of eighty or a hundred veſſels, and ſometimes more. Theſe are manned with black or white ſoldiers, in order to check the inſatiable avarice of the Nabobs and Rajas they meet with in their paſſage. The goods purchaſed in the higher parts of the Ganges, at Patna and Caſſimbuzar, are carried down the river Hughly: thoſe purchaſed near the other branches of the Ganges, which are all navigable in the interior parts of the country, and communicate with each other, eſpecially towards the lower diviſion of that river, are conveyed into the Hughly by Rangafoula and Batatola, about fifteen or twenty leagues from the ſea. From thence they are carried up the ſtream to the principal ſettlement belonging to each nation.

The exports from Bengal to Europe conſiſt of muſk, gum-lac, nicaragua wood, pepper, cowries, and ſome other articles of leſs importance brought thither from other places. Thoſe that are the immediate produce of the country are borax, *ſalt-petre*, ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffs, muſlins and ſeveral *different* ſorts of cottons.

The

THE borax which is found in the province of Patna, is a ſaline ſubſtance, which the chymiſt in Europe have in vain attempted to counterfeit. Some of them take it for an alkaline ſalt, which is found completely formed in the rich country of Indoſtan; others will have it to be the produce of volcanoes, or ſubterraneous fires.

BE this as it may, the borax is of great uſe in the working of metals by facilitating their fuſion and purification. This ſubſtance being quickly vitrified by the action of fire, attracts the heterogeneous particles that are intermixed with theſe metals, and reduces them to droſs. The borax is likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary in the eſſaying of mines, and the ſoldering of metals. The Dutch alone have the ſecret of refining it, which is ſaid to have been communicated to them by ſome Venetian families that came to ſeek that liberty in the united provinces which they did not enjoy under the tyranny of their own ariſtocratical government.

SALTPETRE is likewiſe the produce of Patna. It is extracted from a clay, which is either black, whitiſh or red. The manner of refining it is by digging a large pit, in which the nitrous earth is depoſited, and diluted with a quantity of water, which is kept ſtirred till it comes to a conſiſtency. The water having drawn out all the ſalts, and the groſſer parts ſubſiding at the bottom, the more fluid particles are taken out and put into another pit not ſo large as the former. This ſubſtance having undergone a ſecond purification, the clear water that ſwims on the top, and is totally im-

pregnated with nitre, is taken off, and boiled in caldrons; it is ſkimmed while it is boiling, and, in a few hours, a nitrous ſalt is obtained infinitely ſuperior to any that is found elſewhere. The Europeans export about ten millions of pounds for the uſe of their ſettlements in Aſia, or for home conſumption in their reſpective countries. It is bought upon the ſpot for three ſols * a pound, at the moſt, and is ſold again to us for ten † at the leaſt.

CASSIMBUZAR, which is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajamahal, is the general market for Bengal ſilk, the greateſt part of which is ſupplied from that territory. The ſilk-worms are brought up and fed there in the ſame manner as in other places; but the heat of the climate hatches them and brings them to perfection at all times of the year. A great quantity of ſilk and cotton ſtuffs are manufactured here, which are circulated through part of Aſia: thoſe that are made entirely of ſilk, are for the moſt part carried to Delhi. They are prohibited in France; and throughout the north of Europe, the conſumption in theſe articles is almoſt entirely confined to a few armozeens, and a prodigious number of handkerchiefs. As for the unwrought ſilk, the quantity conſumed in the European manufactures may be eſtimated at three or four hundred thouſand pounds weight. It is in general of a very inferior quality, ill twiſted, and takes no gloſs in dying. It is of little uſe except for the woof in brocades; and is ſold upon the ſpot from 272 to 288 livres ‡ a quintal. The

* 1d. ½ † 5d. ‡ From 11l. 18s. to 12l. 12s.

companies

companies that have a capital, and induſtry and ſkill ſufficient to twiſt it in their own warehouſes, obtain it at a cheaper rate.

It would be a tedious and uſeleſs taſk to enumerate all the places where ticken and cottons, fit for table linnen, or intended to be worn plain, painted or printed, are manufactured. It will be ſufficient to mention Dacca, which may be looked upon as the general mart of Bengal, where the greateſt variety of fineſt cottons are to be met with, and in the greateſt abundance.

This town is ſituated in twenty-four degrees north latitude. The fertility of its ſoil, and the advantages of its ſituation have long ſince made it the center of an extenſive commerce. The courts of Delhi and Muxadavad are furniſhed from thence with the cottons wanted for their own conſumption. They each of them maintain an agent on the ſpot to ſuperintend the manufacture of them; who has an authority independent of the magiſtrate over the brokers, weavers, embroiderers, and all the workmen, whoſe buſineſs has any relation to the object of his commiſſion. Theſe unhappy people are forbidden, under pecuniary and corporal penalties, to ſell to any perſon whatever a piece exceeding the value of 72 livres *: nor can they, but by dint of money, relieve themſelves from this oppreſſion.

In this, as in all the other markets, the European companies treat with Mooriſh brokers ſettled upon the ſpot, and appointed by the government.

* Three guineas.

They likewiſe lend their name to the individuals of their own nation as well as to Indians and Armenians living in their ſettlements, who, without this precaution, would infallibly be plundered. The Moors themſelves, in their private tranſactions, frequently avail themſelves of the ſame pretence, that they may pay only two inſtead of five per cent.

A DISTINCTION is obſerved, in their contracts, between the cottons that are beſpoken, and thoſe which the weaver ventures, in ſome places, to manufacture upon his own account. The length, the number of threads, and the price of the former are fixed: nothing further than the commiſſion for the latter is ſtipulated, becauſe it is impoſſible to enter into the ſame detail. Thoſe nations that make a point of having fine goods, take proper meaſures, that they may be enabled to advance money to their workmen at the beginning of the year. The weavers, who in general have but little employment at that time, perform their work with leſs hurry than in the months of October, November and December, when the demand is preſſing.

SOME of the cottons are delivered unbleached, and others half bleached. It were to be wiſhed, that this cuſtom might be altered. It is very common to ſee cottons, that look very beautiful, go off in the bleaching. Perhaps the manufacturers and brokers foreſee how they will turn out: but the Europeans have not ſo exquiſite a touch, nor ſuch an experienced eye as to diſcern this. *It* is a circumſtance peculiar to India, that cottons, of what

what kind ſoever they are, can never be well bleached and prepared but in the place where they are manufactured. If they have the misfortune to get damaged before they are ſhipped for Europe, they muſt be ſent back to the places from whence they came.

Among the cottons purchaſed at Dacca, the plain ſtriped and worked muſlins are, beyond all compariſon, of the greateſt importance. Bengal is the ſole country in India where they are made, as it produces the only cotton proper for that manufacture. It is planted at the end of october, and gathered in February; when it is prepared with all expedition, that it may be ready for the loom in the months of May, June, and July. This is the rainy ſeaſon; and as the cotton ſhrinks more, and is leſs apt to break at this time, it is therefore the fitteſt for the purpoſe of manufacturing muſlins. The artiſts who work at other ſeaſons of the year, give the cotton its requiſite degree of moiſtneſs, by dipping the part immediately under the warp into water. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand what is ſaid of fabricating muſlins in water.

To whatever degree of fineneſs theſe cottons have been brought, it is certain it falls very ſhort of the perfection of which they are capable. The practice of the government in obliging the beſt manufactures to work on its account, in paying them ill, and keeping them in a ſtate of captivity, makes them afraid of diſplaying too much ſkill. A prevailing ſpirit of reſtraint and rigour ſtifles

induſtry, which though the daughter of neceſſity, is at the ſame time the companion of liberty.

THE courts of Delhi and Muxadavad lay no great ſtreſs upon the embroidered work wrought upon muſlins: and the people of the country, the Moors, Patans, and Armenians, who give large orders, follow their example, and take them as they find them. This indifference hinders the progreſs of the art of embroidery. The Europeans agree for embroideries as they do for muſlins and other merchandiſe, with brokers authorized by the government, to which they pay an annual contribution for this excluſive privilege. Theſe agents aſſign to the women the pieces deſigned for low embroidery, and thoſe in chain-work to the men. The Europeans frequently content themſelves with Indian patterns; at other times they ſend patterns for ſtripes and embroideries.

THE ſum total of the purchaſes made in Bengal by the European nations amounted, a few years ago, to no more than twenty millions of livres*. One third of this ſum was paid in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and Dutch ſpices: the remainder was diſcharged in money. Since the Engliſh have made themſelves maſters of this rich country, its exports have been increaſed, and its imports diminiſhed, becauſe the conquerors have carried away a greater quantity of merchandiſe, and pay for it out of the revenues they receive from the country. There is reaſon to believe, that this revolution in the trade of Bengal has not arrived at

* Above 875,000l.

its

its criſis, and that ſooner or later it will be attended with more important conſequences and effects.

To maintain their correſpondence with this vaſt country, and their other Aſiatic ſettlements, the Engliſh company have fixed upon St. Helena as a place of refreſhment. This iſland which is only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine miles in circumference, lies in fifteen degrees fifty minutes ſouth latitude, between Africa and America, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from thoſe two quarters of the globe. It does not appear that the Portugueſe, who diſcovered it in 1502, ever eſtabliſhed a colony there; but it is certain that, agreeable to their uſual method, they put on ſhore ſome cattle and poultry for the uſe of the ſhips that might touch there. Theſe conveniencies invited the Dutch to form a ſmall ſettlement upon the iſland, which they were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of by the Engliſh, who have been ſettled there ever ſince the year 1673. Engliſh ſettlement at St. Helena.

Though St. Helena appears to be nothing but a large rock, beaten on all ſides by the waves, it is nevertheleſs a delightful ſpot. The climate is more temperate than might be expected; the ſoil, which is only a foot and a half deep, is covered with citrons, palms, pomegranates and other trees, laden with flowers and fruit at the ſame time; while ſtreams of excellent water, which nature has diſtributed better than art could have done, enliven the whole ſcence. Thoſe who are born in this fortunate abode enjoy a perfect ſtate of health; paſſengers are here cured of their diſorders, parti-

cularly of the ſcurvy. Four hundred families compoſed of Engliſh, and of French refugees, cultivate vegetables, and breed cattle, which are of an exquiſite flavour, and of great ſervice to the ſhips crews that put in there. This ſettlement, which nature and art have united to render almoſt impregnable, has, however, one grand defect; the ſhips that return from India to Europe land there with eaſe and ſecurity, but the outward-bound ſhips cannot reach this aſylum, being ſtrongly repelled by winds and adverſe currents. To avoid the inconveniences attending ſo long a voyage, when made without ſtopping, ſeveral of them put in at the Cape of Good Hope; others, particularly thoſe bound to Arabia and Malabar, take in refreſhments at the iſlands of Comora.

The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſlands of Comora.

THESE iſlands, that lie in the Mozambique channel, between the coaſt of Zanguebar and Madagaſcar, are five in number; the principal one, from which this ſmall archipelago takes its name, is little known. The Portugueſe, who diſcovered it in the courſe of their firſt expeditions, brought the name of Europeans into ſuch deteſtation by their cruelties, that all who have ſince ventured to go on ſhore there have either been maſſacred or very ill treated. It has accordingly been quite forſaken. The iſlands of Mayota, Moeti, and Anjuan, are not more frequented, on account of the difficulty of approaching them, and the want of a ſafe anchorage. The Engliſh veſſels put in at the iſland of Joanna.

HERE it is that, within the compaſs of thirty leagues, nature diſplays all her riches, with all her

her ſimplicity. Hills that are ever green, and vallies that are always gay, every where preſent a variety of delightful landſcapes. Thirty thouſand inhabitants, diſtributed into ſeventy-three villages, ſhare its productions. They ſpeak the Arabic language, and their religion is a very corrupt ſort of Mohammediſm; their moral principles are more refined than they uſually are in this part of the globe; the habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable averſion for labour. This lazineſs is the cauſe of a particular air of conſequence, which conſiſts, among perſons of diſtinction, in ſuffering the nails to grow to an immoderate length. In order that this negligence may have the appearance of beauty, they tinge their nails with a yellowiſh red, which they extract from a ſhrub.

These people, born to be indolent, have loſt that liberty which they, doubtleſs, came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. An Arabian trader, not quite a century ago, having killed a Portugueſe gentleman at Mozambique, threw himſelf into a boat, which chance conducted to Joanna. This ſtranger made ſuch good uſe of his ſuperior abilities, and the aſſiſtance of a few of his countrymen, that he acquired an abſolute authority, which is ſtill maintained by his grandſon. The change in the government did not at all diminiſh the liberty and ſecurity enjoyed by the Engliſh, who landed upon the iſland. They continued to put their ſick on ſhore without moleſtation,

tion, where the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the excellence of the fruits, proviſions, and water, ſoon reſtored them to health. They were only obliged to give a higher price for the proviſions they wanted, for which the following reaſons may be aſſigned.

THE Arabians having been induced to frequent an iſland governed by an Arab, have brought the Indian manufactures into vogue; and as the cowries, cocoa-nuts, and other commodities they received in exchange, were not ſufficient to defray the expence of this article of luxury, the iſlanders have been obliged to demand money for their goats and poultry, which they before exchanged for glaſs beads, and other baubles of as little value. This innovation has not, however, made the Engliſh deſert a place of refreſhment, which has no other inconvenience than that of being at too great a diſtance from our latitudes.

The Engliſh compa.. y leave the country trade to private adventurers.

A SIMILAR inconvenience did not prevent the Engliſh company from extending their trade very conſiderably. The intercourſe carried on between one port of India and another was too confined, and of too little conſequence, to engage their attention for any long time. They were ſoon ſufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was not for their intereſt to continue this kind of commerce; and therefore invited the private traders of their own nation to embark in it. They lent them their aſſiſtance, by taking a ſhare in their expeditions, and granting them privileges on board their own fleets, and frequently even undertook to be the carriers of their merchandiſe at a low freight.

This

This generous behaviour reuſulting from a national ſpirit, and ſo diametrically oppoſite to that of other companies, quickly gave activity, ſtrength, and credit, to the Engliſh ſettlements. Their free merchants were ſoon in poſſeſſion of a dozen brigantines, that were employed within the Ganges, or were diſpatched from thence to Acham, Keda, Johor and Ligor. They fitted out an equal number of larger veſſels from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, which frequented all the ſea-ports in the eaſt. Theſe veſſels would have been ſtill more numerous, had not the company exacted a duty of five per cent. in all the places where they had ſettlements, and eight and a half per cent. upon all the remittances made by the free merchants to the capital. When their neceſſities did not compel them to remit part of theſe unreaſonable demands, theſe merchants lent their money upon bottomry, ſometimes to other European merchants that wanted it, but moſt frequently to the captains of ſhips belonging to their own nation, who, not being ſtrictly dependent upon the company, can traffic for others in the voyages they make for them.

The company judge it improper to keep up their navy.

At its firſt riſe, this great body was ambitious of maintaining a maritime force. This was quite laid aſide when they reſumed their operations in the time of the Protector. Having nothing then in view but profit, they reſolved to embark the goods on private bottoms; and what was then done through neceſſity, has ſince been continued through œconomy. There are merchants who furniſh them with ſhips, completely rigged and victualled,

victualled, to carry out to India, and bring back to Europe, ſuch a number of tons as they contract for. The time they are to ſtay at the place of their deſtination is always fixed. Thoſe which happen to have no cargo to bring back, are uſually hired by ſome free merchant, who engages to indemnify the owner. Theſe are always the firſt ſent home the following year, to prevent their rigging from being too much worn. In caſes of neceſſity the company will equip them out of their own ſtorehouſes; but they require the payment of a ſtipulated rate of fifty per cent. advance on them.

THE veſſels employed in this navigation carry from ſix to eight hundred tons burden. At their departure the company occupy juſt ſo much room as is ſufficient to hold their iron, their lead, their copper, their woollens, and Madeira wine, which are the only merchandiſe they ſend to India. The owners are allowed to ſtore the remaining part of each veſſel with the proviſions neceſſary for ſo long a voyage, and any other articles which the ſociety they are concerned for do not trade in. On their return, they have likewiſe a right to aſſign to any uſe they think proper a ſpace equal to thirty tons, which, by their contract, is reſerved to themſelves: they may even take in the ſame articles as are embarked for the company. Till lately they uſed to pay the company thirty per cent. on the value of theſe commodies; but ſince the 21ſt of October 1773, this duty has been reduced to one-half. It was thought that this indulgence would diſpoſe the owners and their agents more

punctually to fulfil their engagements, and would put a ſtop to fraudulent importations. The ſpirit of humanity, which is more common in free ſtates than in others, has in England given riſe to a very commendable cuſtom: the ſurgeon of each ſhip that arrives from India receives, beſides his pay, twenty-two livres ten ſols *, by way of gratuity for every man in the ſhip's company whom he brings back to Europe.

Capital of the company.

THE company, diſengaged from the trouble neceſſarily attending the maintenance of a navy, as well as from the country trade in India, had no other object to take up their attention than the commerce carried on directly between Europe and Aſia. They entered upon it with a capital of 8,322,547 livres 10 ſols †; and, in 1676, having by fortunate events been enabled to make a diviſion of cent. per cent. they thought it moſt for their intereſt to double their capital. This capital ſtill kept increaſing, till in 1702 the two companies that had ſo obſtinately oppoſed each other, threw their wealth, their plans, and their hopes, into one common ſtock. It has ſince riſen to ſeventy-two millions ‡ divided into ſhares, originally of 1,125 ||, and afterwards of 2,250 livres §.

Extent of the company's trade.

THE trade was, in the beginning, carried on with great ſpirit and ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their ſtock. As early as the year 1628, the company employed twelve thouſand tons of ſhipping, and four thouſand ſeamen.

* Near 20 ſhillings. † 364,111l. 9d. ¾. ‡ 3,150,000l.
|| Not quite 50l. § Not quite 100l.

Their

Their expeditions varied in an inconceivable manner; and were more or leſs conſiderable, according to the ignorance or capacity of thoſe who conducted them; the different ſtates of peace or war, the proſperity, or misfortune of the mother country, the fondneſs or indifference of the Europeans for Indian manufactures; and the different degrees of competition they met with from other nations. Since the beginning of the preſent century, theſe changes have been neither ſo frequent, nor ſo remarkable. The trade has been eſtabliſhed upon a more firm baſis, and the ſales have riſen to ſeventy-eight millions *.

THE increaſe of their trade would have been ſtill greater, had it not been for the reſtraints that were laid upon it. To enter into a detail of theſe would be too long and too minute a taſk. It will be ſufficient to mention, that every ſhip returning from India is obliged to unlade in England, and that thoſe which bring prohibited goods are compelled to land them at the port of London. The cottons and ſtuffs that come from theſe countries pay very high duties; thoſe levied upon tea are ſtill higher. If the government hoped, by laying on ſo enormous a tax, to abate the exceſſive fondneſs of the people for this liquor, its expectations have not been anſwered.

TEA whas introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Oſſory, who imported it from Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it *into* faſhion among people of their own rank. At that

* Above 3,400,000l.

time

time it ſold in London for ſixty-ſeven or ſixty-eight livres * a pound, though it coſt but three or four at Batavia. Notwithſtanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the fondneſs for this liquor gained ground; it was not, however, brought into common uſe till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drunk, whereas till then no ſort was known but the bohea. The fondneſs for this Aſiatic plant has ſince become univerſal. Perhaps, the phrenzy is not without its inconveniences; but it cannot be denied, that it has contributed more to the ſobriety of the nation than the ſevereſt laws, the moſt eloquent harangues of chriſtian orators, or the beſt treatiſes of morality.

In 1766 ſix millions of pounds of tea were brought from China by the Engliſh, four millions five hundred thouſand by the Dutch, two millions four hundred thouſand by the Swedes, the ſame quantity by the Danes, and two millions one hundred thouſand by the French. The ſum total of theſe quantities amounts to ſeventeen millions four hundred thouſand pounds. The preference given by moſt nations to chocolate, coffee, and other liquors, joined to a ſeries of obſervations carefully purſued for ſeveral years, and the moſt exact calculations that can poſſibly be made in ſuch complicated caſes, inclines us to think that the whole conſumption throughout Europe does not exceed five millions four hundred thouſand pounds. In this caſe, that of Great Britain muſt be twelve millions.

* About 3l.

It is univerſally allowed, that there are at leaſt two millions in the mother country, and a million in the colonies, which conſtantly drink tea. It is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that each individual of theſe conſumes four pounds in a year; but ſhould the quantity be ſomething leſs, the deficiency is ſupplied by thoſe who are leſs attached to it, and who for this reaſon have not been taken into the account. A pound of tea, which coſts only thirty ſols * in the eaſt, conſtantly ſells in England for ſix livres ten ſols † including the duty: conſequently the rage for this Aſiatic plant coſts the nation about ſeventy-two millions ‡.

To oppoſe the entries of the cuſtom-houſe to this computation would argue either ignorance or artifice. It is true that the amount of the duties, which, according to this calculation, ought to be about 18,000,000 livres ‖, is hardly half ſo much; but the contraband trade in this commodity carried on in England is notorious. The government itſelf is ſo thoroughly convinced of it, that, in order to leſſen it, it has lately lowered the duty twenty ſols § a pound. In all probability it would have been ſtill more generous, had it not unfortunately been under the neceſſity of conſidering its cuſtoms as a reſource of finance, rather than as the regulator of its commerce. This relaxation, which of itſelf is not ſufficient to prevent the teas in the different ports of Europe from being ſmuggled into Great Britain, has been rendered more efficaci-

* About 1s. 4d. † Near ſix ſhillings. ‡ About 3,150,000l.
‖ Near 790,000l. § 10d.

ous

ous by the national acquiſition of the iſle of Man, which belonged to the Athol family.

THOUGH moſt branches of the public revenue have been increaſed by an arrangement, which deprived the illicit trader of his moſt convenient market, the Indian company have been particularly benefited by it. As their commodities were ſubjected to higher duties than any others, the clandeſtine importation of them was more common, and was principally carried on by the iſle of Man, which is extremely well ſituated to receive every thing that comes from the North. Tea was the favourite object of this contraband trade. The Engliſh company will not fail, in future, to provide as much ſtock as may anſwer their demands, and to ſecure to themſelves the advantages which their rivals came to carry away from them even within the limits of their own empire.

THE teas and other merchandiſe that arrive from India are paid for in money. The government, which is not ignorant of this, has limited the exportation of ſpecie to 6,750,000 livres*. This unaccountable reſtriction, ſo unworthy a commercial people, neither has been or can be carried into execution. The ſums regiſtered are always much higher; but this indulgence does not prevent conſiderable ſums from being clandeſtinely carried abroad without the knowledge of the cuſtom-houſe officers. Theſe fraudulent practices have increaſed in proportion as the trade has

* About 295,000l.

become more extenſive; and the money ſent out of the kingdom has been long computed at one third of the profit ariſing from the ſales.

THIS exportation of ſpecie would have been more conſiderable, if the company had adhered to that article in their charter, by which it is provided, that they ſhall export in merchandiſe of their own nation, the value of the tenth part of what they take in money upon their veſſels. They have conſtantly made a charge for much greater ſums in tin, lead, and Engliſh cloths, without reckoning the profits made in India upon iron from Sweden and Biſcay, and other articles taken from ſeveral countries of Europe.

THEIR advocates, in order to reinſtate them in the good opinion of the public, which they have but ſeldom enjoyed, have frequently aſſerted, that this body occaſioned as much money to be brought into the country, as they carried out of it. This plea cauſed ſuch a warm altercation in the beginning of the preſent century, that the government thought the queſtion not unworthy of its attention. It was found by conſulting the regiſters, that from the end of December 1712 to the end of December 1717, there had been exported to India 52,563,037 livres 10 ſols*. From all circumſtances it appeared, that the money clandeſtinely carried out amounted, at leaſt to one half; and that conſequently there could be no miſtake in eſtimating the amount of both theſe ſums at 78,844,566 livres 5 ſols†. The

* 2,299,632l. 17s. 9d. ¾. † 3,449,449l.

ſums

ſums remitted home by the company, in the ſame ſpace of time, amounted to 75,058,391 livres 5 ſols*. Thus, ſuppoſing theſe calculations to be juſt, the conſumption of the Aſiatic productions in England for five years, ſhould not have riſen ſo high as 3,786,165 livres†: but there is reaſon to believe that it roſe much higher; and that a great deal of merchandiſe apparently ſold to foreigners, never ſtirred out of the kingdom. The partiality that has lately prevailed in favour of Scotch and Iriſh linens printed in England, and the increaſe of the ſilk manufacture, by leſſening the demand for contraband goods, muſt of neceſſity render the commerce of the Eaſt more advantageous to the nation. Before the year 1720, Great Britain annually conſumed three millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand yards of India cottons; but this conſumption is greatly diminiſhed.

Dividends of the proprietors.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that any changes could happen in the connections of the Indian trade with the ſtate in general, without producing ſome alterations in the private ſhares of the proprietors. Their profits have at certain periods been enormous; at others, very ſlender. The ſhares have been regulated in conformity to theſe variations. The dividend, which, for a long time, had been no more than ſeven per cent. was, in 1743, raiſed to eight. It was afterwards reduced to ſix; in 1766 it roſe to ten, and ſince that time to twelve and a half. This was more than the ſituation of

* 3,283,804l. 12s. 1d. ½. † About 165,645l.

the company could afford; ſince, at this period, they had little more remaining than their original capital. If this be the caſe, how has it happpened that ſo ſmall a capital ſhould, in the opinion of the public, have acquired the value of 280,000,000*, which is the amount according to the price of the ſtock.

It is not impoſſible to anſwer this objection. The enthuſiaſm of the Engliſh is well known. It has repeatedly been excited by circumſtances that would not have made the leaſt impreſſion on the moſt volatile and trifling people. An important event has had a powerful effect upon the whole nation. They have abandoned themſelves with all the impetuoſity of their character to the vaſt proſpects that were opened to them by the recent conqueſt of Bengal.

Conqueſt of Bengal. Advantages drawn by the Engliſh from this acquiſition, and the conduct they have hitherto obſerved.

Should it be aſked, if this aſtoniſhing revolution, which has had ſo ſenſible an influence, both upon the ſtate of the inhabitants of this part of Aſia, and upon the trade of the European nations in theſe climates, hath been the conſequence and reſult of a ſeries of political ſchemes?—If it be one of thoſe events, of which prudence has a right to claim the merit? We ſhall anſwer, No. Chance alone has determined it: and the circumſtances that have opened this field of glory and power to the Engliſh, far from promiſing them the ſucceſs they have had, ſeemed on the contrary to threaten them with the moſt fatal reverſe of fortune.

* Above 12,250,000l.

A PERNICIOUS cuſtom had for ſome time prevailed in theſe countries. The governors of all the European ſettlements took upon them to grant an aſſylum to ſuch of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppreſſion or puniſhment. As they received very conſiderable ſums in return for their protection, they overlooked the danger to which the intereſts of their principals were expoſed by this proceeding. One of the chief officers of Bengal, who was apprized of this reſource, took refuge among the Engliſh at Calcutta to avoid the puniſhment due to his treachery. He was taken under their protection. The ſubah, juſtly irritated, put himſelf at the head of his army, attacked the place, and took it. He put the garriſon into a cloſe dungeon, where they were ſuffocated in the ſpace of twelve hours. Three and twenty of them only remained alive. Theſe wretched people offered large ſums to the keeper of their priſon, to prevail upon him to get their deplorable ſituation repreſented to the prince. Their cries and lamentations were ſufficient informations to the people, who were touched with compaſſion; but no one would venture to addreſs the deſpotic monarch upon the ſubject. The expiring Engliſh were told that he was aſleep; and there was not, perhaps, a ſingle perſon in Bengal who thought that the tyrant's ſlumbers ſhould be interrupted for one moment, even to preſerve the lives of one hundred and fifty unfortunate men.

ADMIRAL Watſon, who was juſt arrived in India with his ſquadron, and Colonel Clive who had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war of the Carnatic, did not delay to avenge the cauſe of their country. They got together the Engliſh who had been diſperſed, and were flying from place to place; they went up the Ganges in the month of December 1756, retook Calcutta, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other places, and gained a complete victory over the ſubah.

SUCH a rapid and extenſive ſucceſs becomes in a manner inconceivable, when we conſider that it was only with a body of five hundred men that the Engliſh was to ſtand againſt the whole force of Bengal. But if their ſuperiority was partly owing to their better diſcipline, and to other evident advantages that the Europeans have in battle over the Indian powers; the ambition of eaſtern chiefs, the avarice of their miniſters, and the nature of a government, whoſe only ſprings are fear and preſent intereſt, were of ſtill more effectual ſervice to them: they had experience enough to take advantage of the concurrence of theſe ſeveral circumſtances in their firſt, as well as in every ſucceeding enterprize. The ſubah was deteſted by all his own people, as tyrants generally are; the principal officers ſold their intereſt to the Engliſh; he was betrayed at the head of his army, the greateſt part of which refuſed to engage; and he himſelf fell into the hands of his enemies, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled in priſon.

THE

THEY diſpoſed of the ſubahſhip in favour of Jaffier-Ally-Khan, the ring-leader of the conſpiracy; who ceded to the company ſome provinces, with a grant of every privilege, exemption and favour, to which they could have any pretenſion. But ſoon growing weary of the yoke he had brought upon himſelf, he was ſecretly looking out for means to get rid of it. His deſigns were diſcovered, and he was confined in the center of his own capital.

COSSIM-ALLY-KHAN, his nephew, was proclaimed in his ſtead. He had purchaſed that uſurpation with an immenſe ſum of money. But he did not enjoy it long. Impatient of the yoke, as his predeceſſor had been, he gave ſome tokens of his diſpoſition, and refuſed to ſubmit to the laws the company impoſed upon him. Upon this the war broke out again. The ſame Jaffier-Ally-Khan, whom the Engliſh kept in confinement, was again proclaimed ſubah of Bengal. They marched againſt Coſſim-Ally-Khan. His general officers were corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that whilſt he loſt his dignity, he ſtill preſerved the immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, Coſſim-Ally did not drop his hopes of vengeance. Full of reſentment, and loaded with treaſure, he ſet out for the nabob of Bennares, chief viſir in the Mogul's empire. He and all the neighbouring princes re-united in oppoſition to the common enemy, who threatened them all equally. But now the conteſt lay no longer between them

and a handful of Europeans juſt arrived from the coaſt of Coromandel; they were to engage with the whole ſtrength of Bengal, of which the Engliſh were maſters. Elated with their ſucceſſes, they did not wait to be attacked; they ſet out directly and made head againſt ſo formidable a league, marching on with all the confidence which Clive could inſpire, a leader, whoſe name ſeemed to have become the pledge of conqueſt. However, Clive did not care to hazard any thing. Part of the campaign was ſpent in negociations; but in time the treaſures which the Engliſh had already drawn from Bengal, ſerved to enſure them new conqueſts. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and when the nabob of Bennares was deſirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men without ever being able to engage.

By this victory, the country of Bennares fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and it ſeemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that ſovereignty to that of Bengal: but either from moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions by contribution: and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any hurt; but ſuch as they were, he moſt readily agreed to them, that he might regain the poſſeſſion of his own provinces.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, Coſſim-Ally ſtill found means to preſerve part of his treaſures, and retired to the Cheyks, a people ſituated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he

he made an attempt to procure ſome allies, and to raiſe up a body of enemies to oppoſe the Engliſh.

WHILE matters were thus circumſtanced in Bengal, the Mogul having been driven out of Delhi by the Pattans, by whom his ſon had been ſet up in his room, was wandering from one province to another in ſearch of a place of refuge in his own territories, and requeſting ſuccour from his own vaſſals, but without ſucceſs. Abandoned by his ſubjects, betrayed by his allies, without ſupport, and without any army, he was allured by the power of the Engliſh, and implored their protection; they promiſed to conduct him to Delhi, and re-eſtabliſh him on his throne; but they inſiſted that he ſhould previouſly cede to them the abſolute ſovereignty over Bengal. This ceſſion was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities uſually practiſed throughout the Mogul empire.

THE Engliſh, poſſeſſed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their uſurpation, at leaſt in the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon forgot the promiſes they had made. They gave the Mogul to underſtand, that particular circumſtances would not ſuffer them to be concerned in ſuch an enterpriſe; that ſome better opportunity was to be hoped for; and to make up for all his loſſes, they aſſigned him a penſion of ſix millions * with the revenue of Illahabad, and

* 262, 500l.

Shah

Sha Ichanabad or Delhi; upon which that unfortunate prince was reduced to ſubſiſt himſelf in one of the principal towns of the province of Bennares, where he had taken up his reſidence. Thus the Mogul empire comes to be ſhared between two governing powers, one of which is acknowledged in the ſeveral diſtricts of India, where the Engliſh company has any eſtabliſhments and authority; the other in ſuch provinces as border on Delhi, and in thoſe parts to which the influence of that company does not extend.

THE Engliſh, thus become ſovereigns of Bengal, have thought it incumbent on them to keep up the ſhadow of ancient forms, in a country where they have the lead, and, perhaps, the only power that is likely to be ſecure and laſting. They govern the kingdom ſtill under the name of a ſubah, who is of their nomination and in their pay, and ſeems to give his own orders. It is from him that all publick acts ſeem to proceed and iſſue, though the decrees are in fact the reſult of the deliberations of the council at Calcutta; ſo that the people, notwithſtanding their change of maſters, have for a conſiderable time been induced to believe, that they ſtill ſubmitted but to the ſame yoke.

IF we ſhould wiſh to know the amount of the public revenues of Bengal, we ſhall find at the period of its conqueſt, it was equal to fourſcore millions *. The outgoings, either for the government, or defence of the province,

* 3,500,000l.

were

were ſtated at forty-one millions *; ſix millions † were agreed to be given to the Mogul, and three millions ‡ to the nabob; ſo that the remainder to the company was thirty millions §. Their purchaſes in the different marts of India ſhould abſorb a great part of this ſum; but ſtill it has been thought there muſt after all remain a ſurplus of ſeveral millions to be carried into Great Britain.

THIS new arrangement of matters, without having wrought any ſenſible change in the exterior form of the Engliſh company, has eſſentially changed their object. They are no longer a trading body, they are a territorial power which farm out their revenues in aid of a commerce that formerly was their ſole exiſtence, and which, notwithſtanding the extenſion it has received, is no more than an additional object in the various combinations of their preſent real grandeur. The arrangements intended to give ſtability to a ſituation ſo proſperous are, perhaps, the moſt reaſonable that can be. England has at preſent in India an eſtabliſhment to the amount of nine thouſand eight hundred European troops, and fifty-four thouſand ſipahis well armed and well diſciplined. Three thouſand of theſe Europeans, and twenty-five thouſand ſipahis are diſperſed along the borders of the Ganges.

THE moſt conſiderable body of theſe troops has been ſtationed in Bennares, once the ſource

* 1,797,750l. † 262,500l. ‡ 131,250l.
§ 1,312,500l.

of

of Indian ſcience, and ſtill the moſt famous academy of theſe rich countries, where European avarice pays no regard to any thing. This ſituation is choſen, becauſe it appeared favourable for ſtopping the progreſs of thoſe warlike people who might deſcend from the mountains of the north; and in caſe of attack, the maintaining of a war in a foreign territory would be leſs ruinous than in the countries of which the company is to receive the revenues. On the ſouth, as far as it has been found practicable, they have occupied all the narrow paſſes by which an enterpriſing and active adverſary might attempt to penetrate into the province. Dacca, which is in the center of it, has under its walls a conſiderable force always ready to march wherever their preſence may be neceſſary. All the nabobs and rajahs who are dependent on the ſubah of Bengal are diſarmed, ſurrounded by ſpies in order to diſcover their conſpiracies, and by troops to render them ineffectual.

In caſe of any unfortunate revolution which might oblige the victorious power to change its quarters, and abandon its poſts, the Engliſh have conſtructed a fort near Calcutta called Fort William, which, in times of urgent neceſſity, would ſerve as a place of refuge for the army, ſhould they be forced to retreat, and give time to expect the neceſſary reinforcements for the recovery of their ſuperiority. This fort is a regular octagon with eight baſtions, ſeveral counter-guards, and ſome half moons already begun, without a glacis, or covered way. The ditch of this

this fort may be about one hundred and ſixty feet broad, its depth nearly eighteen. On the ſide of the Ganges, the place is weakeſt, and the curtains are covered only with redans, over which there is a double battery raiſed on piles. The principal inconvenience of this citadel, whoſe conſtruction coſt twenty millions *, is, that it does not ſerve to protect Calcutta, which is now become the city of the greateſt importance in India, ſince its population has amounted to ſix hundred thouſand ſouls, ſince immenſe treaſures have been accumulated there, and ſince it is become from a variety of incidents the theatre of a moſt extenſive commerce. It muſt neceſſarily be that the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the advantage of a very fortunate poſition, has prevailed over every other conſideration.

NOTWITHSTANDING the wiſe precautions taken by the Engliſh, they are not, and cannot be, without apprehenſions. The Mogul power may gain ſtrength, and wiſh to reſcue one of its fineſt provinces out of the hands of a foreign oppreſſor. They have reaſon to fear that the barbarous nations may be again allured by the ſoftneſs of the climate. The princes now at variance may, perhaps, put an end to their conteſts, and reunite in favour of their common liberty. It is not impoſſible but the Indians, who at preſent conſtitute the chief force of the victorious Engliſh, may one day turn upon them thoſe arms of which they have been taught the uſe. The

* 875,000l.

grandeur

grandeur of the company, which is but imaginary, may, perhaps, moulder away without their being actually driven from what they poſſeſs. It is well known that the Marattas have their eyes continually turned towards this fine country, and are conſtantly threatening it with invaſion. Unleſs the Engliſh are ſucceſsful enough either by bribery or intrigue, to divert the ſtorm, Bengal will be the object of their pillage and rapine, whatever meaſures may be taken to oppoſe a light cavalry, whoſe alertneſs exceeds every thing we can ſay of it. The incurſions of theſe ravagers may be repeated; and then the company will have leſs tribute to receive, and their expences will be increaſed. Suppoſing, however, that none of the misfortunes we have ventured to foreſee, ſhould take place, is it likely that the revenues of Bengal ſhould always continue the ſame? This is at leaſt a matter of doubt. The Engliſh Company no longer export any coin, but even carry away ſome for the uſe of their factories. The agents of the merchants make immenſe fortunes, and even private perſons gain a tolerable competence, which they repair to the mother country to enjoy. The other European nations find in the treaſures of this ruling power accommodations, which make it unneceſſary to introduce new bullion. Muſt not all theſe combined circumſtances neceſſarily occaſion a deficiency in the finances of thoſe countries, which will ſooner or later be felt in the making up of the public accounts?

THAT period might indeed be at ſome diſtance, if the Engliſh reſpecting the rights of humanity were to rid thoſe countries of the oppreſſion under which they have continued to groan for ſo many ages. Then Calcutta, far from being an object of terror to the Indians, would become a tribunal always open to the complaints of thoſe unhappy ſufferers whom tyranny ſhould dare to moleſt. Property would be held ſo ſacred, that the treaſure which has long been buried would be taken out of the bowels of the earth, to ſerve the purpoſe of its diſtination. Agriculture and manufactures would be encouraged to ſuch a degree, that the exports would become from day to day more conſiderable, and the company by following ſuch maxims as theſe, inſtead of being driven to the neceſſity of leſſening the tributes which they found eſtabliſhed, might poſſibly find means to bring about an augmentation conſiſtent with the general ſatisfaction of the natives. Let it no be ſaid that ſuch a plan is chimerical. The Engliſh company itſelf has already proved the poſſibility of it.

THE Europeans, who have acquired any territory in India, generally chooſe for their farmers the natives of the country, from whom it is common to exact ſuch conſiderable ſums in advance, that in order to pay them they are obliged to borrow at an exorbitant intereſt. The diſtreſs, which theſe greedy farmers voluntarily bring on themſelves, obliges them to exact of the inhabitants, to whom they let ſome parcels of the land below their value, ſo conſiderable a rent, that theſe unfortunate

fortunate perſons quit their villages, and abandon them for ever. The contractor, ruined by this incident, which renders him inſolvent, is diſmiſſed to make room for a ſucceſſor, who commonly meets with the ſame fate; ſo that it very frequently happens, that nothing but the firſt ſum depoſited, or very littled more, is ever received from the eſtate.

DIFFERENT ſteps have been taken in the Engliſh colonies, on the coaſt of Coromandel. It was obſerved that the villages had been formed by ſeveral families, who for the moſt part were connected with each other; this has been the reaſon why the cuſtom of employing farmers has been aboliſhed. Every land was taxed at a certain rent by the year, and the head of the family was ſecurity for his relations and connexions. This method united the coloniſts one with another, and created in them a diſpoſition as well as the power of affording each other a reciprocal ſupport. This has occaſioned the ſettlements of that nation to riſe to the utmoſt degree of proſperity they were capable of attaining; while thoſe of her rivals were languiſhing for want of cultivation and manufactures, and conſequently of population.

WHY muſt a mode of conduct which does ſo much honour to reaſon and humanity be confined to the ſmall territory of Madraſs? Can it be true that moderation is a virtue that belongs only to a ſtate of mediocrity? The Engliſh company till theſe latter times had always held a conduct ſuperior to that of the other ſettlements. Their agents, their factors, were well choſen. The moſt

moſt part of them were young men of good families, already inſtructed in the rudiments of commerce, and who were not afraid, when the ſervice of their country called upon them, to croſs thoſe immenſe ſeas which England conſiders but as a part of her empire. The company had generally taken their commerce in a great point of view, and had almoſt always carried it on like an aſſociation of true politicians as well as a body of merchants. Upon the whole their planters, merchants and ſoldiers had retained more honeſty, more regularity, and more firmneſs than thoſe of the other nations.

WHO would ever have imagined that this ſame company, by a ſudden alteration of conduct, and change of ſyſtem, could poſſibly make the people of Bengal regret the deſpotiſm of their ancient maſters? That fatal revolution has been but too ſudden and too real. A ſettled plan of tyranny has taken the place of authority occaſionally exerted. The exactions are become general and fixed, the oppreſſion continual and abſolute. The deſtructive arts of monopolies are carried to perfection, and new ones have been invented. In a word, the company have tainted and corrupted the public ſources of confidence and happineſs.

UNDER the government of the Mogul Emperors, the ſubahs, who had the care of the revenues, were, from the nature of the buſineſs, obliged to leave the receipt of them to Nabobs, Polygars, and Jemidars, who were a ſort of underſecurity to other Indians, and theſe ſtill to others; ſo that the produce of the lands paſſed on, and

was partly ſunk amidſt a multitude of intermediate hands, before it came into the coffers of the ſubah, who, on his part, delivered but a very ſmall portion of it to the emperor. This adminiſtration, faulty in many reſpects, had in it one favourable circumſtance for the people, that the farmers never being changed, the rent of the farms remained always the ſame; becauſe the leaſt increaſe, as it diſturbed the whole chain of advantage which every one received in his turn, would infallibly have occaſioned a revolt: a terrible reſource, but the only one left in favour of humanity in countries groaning under the oppreſſions of deſpotic rulers.

It is probable that in the midſt of theſe regulations there were many injuries and partial diſtreſſes. But, at leaſt, as the receipt of the public monies was made upon a fixed and moderate aſſeſſment, emulation was not wholly extinguiſhed. The cultivators of the land being ſure of laying up the produce of their harveſt, after paying with exactneſs the rate of their farm, aſſiſted the natural goodneſs of the ſoil by their labour; the weavers, maſters of the price of their works, being at liberty to make choice of the buyer which beſt ſuited them, exerted themſelves in extending and improving their manufactures. Both the one and the other, having no anxiety with regard to their ſubſiſtence, yielded with ſatisfaction to the moſt delightful inclinations of nature, or the prevailing propenſity of theſe climates; and beheld in the increaſe of their family nothing more than the means of augmenting their riches. Such are evidently the

the reaſons why induſtry, agriculture, and population, have been carried to ſuch a height in the province of Bengal. One would think they might ſtill be carried further under the government of a free people, friends to humanity; but the thirſt of money, the moſt tormenting, the moſt cruel of all paſſions, has given riſe to a pernicious and deſtructive government.

THE Engliſh, become ſovereigns of Bengal, not content to receive the revenues on the ſame footing as the ancient ſubahs, have been deſirous at once to augment the produce of the farms, and to appropriate to themſelves the rents. To accompliſh both theſe objects, they are become the farmers to their own ſubah, that is, to a ſlave on whom they have juſt conferred that empty title, the more ſecurely to impoſe upon the people. The conſequence of this new plan has been to pillage the farmers, in order to ſubſtitute in their room the company's agents. They have alſo monopolized the ſale of ſalt, tobacco, and betel, articles of immediate neceſſity in thoſe countries, but they have done this under the name, and apparently on the account of the ſubah. They have gone ſtill further, and have obliged the very ſame ſubah to eſtabliſh in their favour an excluſive privilege for the ſale of cotton brought from any other province, in order to raiſe it to an exorbitant price. They have augmented the duties, and, to conclude all, have obtained an edict, which has been publiſhed, to forbid all Europeans, except the Engliſh, from trading freely in the interior parts of Bengal.

WHEN we reflect on this cruel prohibition, it ſeems as if it had been contrived only to deprive of every power of miſchief that unfortunate country, whoſe proſperity, for their own intereſt, ought to be the only object of the Engliſh company. Beſides, it is eaſy to ſee that the avarice of the members of the council at Calcutta has dictated that ſhameful law. Their deſign was to enſure to themſelves the produce of all the manufactures, in order to compel the merchants of other nations, who choſe to trade from one part of India to another, to purchaſe theſe articles of them at an exorbitant price, or to renounce their undertakings.

BUT ſtill in the midſt of this overbearing conduct, ſo contrary to the advantage of their conſtituents, theſe treacherous agents have attempted to diſguiſe themſelves under the maſk of zeal. They have pretended, that as they were under the neceſſity of exporting to England a quantity of merchandiſe proportioned to the extent of her commerce, the competition of private traders was prejudicial to the purchaſes of the company.

UNDER the ſame pretence, and in order to extend this excluſion to the foreign ſettlements while they appear to reſpect their rights, they have of late years ordered more merchandiſe than Bengal could furniſh. At the ſame time the weavers have been forbidden to work for other nations until the Engliſh orders were completed. Thus the workmen, not being any longer at liberty to chooſe among the ſeveral purchaſers, have been forced to deliver the fruits of their labour at any price they could get for them.

LET us conſider too how theſe workmen have been paid. Here reaſon is confounded; we are at a loſs for excuſes or pretexts. The Engliſh, conquerors of Bengal, poſſeſſors of the immenſe treaſures which the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the inhabitants had collected, have debaſed themſelves ſo far as to alter the value of the ſpecie. They have ſet the example of this meanneſs unknown to the deſpotic rulers of Aſia; and it is through this diſgraceful act that they have announced to the natives their ſovereignty over them. It is true that ſuch an operation, ſo contrary to the principles of trade and public faith, could not laſt long. The company themſelves found the pernicious effects of it, and were reſolved to call in all the baſe coin, in order to replace it with other money, exactly the ſame as that which was always current in thoſe countries. But let us attend to the manner in which ſo neceſſary an alteration was conducted.

THEY had ſtruck in gold rupees to the amount of about fifteen millions * nominal value, but which repreſented in fact but nine millions †; for four-tenths, or ſomething more was alloy. All who were found to poſſeſs theſe gold rupees of falſe alloy, were enjoined to bring them into the treaſury at Calcutta, where they ſhould be reimburſed for them in ſilver rupees; but inſtead of ten rupees and a half of ſilver, which each gold rupee ought to be worth according to its rate, they gave them but ſix; ſo that the amount of the alloy became the clear loſs of the creditor.

* 656,250l. † 393,750l.

An oppreſſion ſo general muſt neceſſarily be attended with violence; and conſequently it has been neceſſary ſeveral times to have recourſe to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the council at Calcutta. Theſe forces have not been employed againſt the Indians alone; tumults have alſo broken out, and military preparations been made on all ſides, even in the midſt of peace. The Europeans have been expoſed to ſignal acts of hoſtility, and particularly the French, who, notwithſtanding their being ſo reduced, and ſo weak, have ſtill excited the jealouſy of their former rivals.

If to the picture of public diſtreſſes we were to add that of private extortions, we ſhould find the agents of the company, almoſt every where, exacting their tribute with extreme rigour, and raiſing contributions for them with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhould ſee them carrying a kind of inquiſition into every family, and ſitting in judgment upon every fortune; robbing indiſcriminately the artizan and the labourer, imputing it as a crime that he is not ſufficiently rich, and puniſhing him accordingly. We ſhould view them ſelling their favour and their credit, as well to oppreſs the innocent as to ſkreen the guilty. We ſhould find in conſequence of theſe irregularities, deſpair ſeizing every heart, and an univerſal dejection getting the better of every mind, and uniting to put a ſtop to the progreſs and activity of commerce, agriculture, and population.

It will be thought, without doubt, after theſe details, it was impoſſible that Bengal ſhould have freſh evils to dread. But, however, as if the elements, in league with mankind, had intended to bring all at once upon the ſame people every calamity that by turns lays waſte the univerſe, a drought of which there never had been an inſtance in thoſe climates, came upon them, and prepared the way for a moſt dreadful famine in a country of all the moſt fertile.

In Bengal they have two harveſts; one in April, the other in October. The firſt, called the little harveſt, conſiſts of the ſmaller grain: the ſecond, ſtiled the grand harveſt, is ſingly of rice. The rains which commence regularly in the month of Auguſt, and end in the middle of October, are the occaſion of theſe different productions; and it was by a drought which happened in 1769, at the ſeaſon when the rains are expected, that there was a failure in the great harveſt of 1769, and the leſs harveſt of 1770. It is true that the rice on the higher grounds did not ſuffer greatly by this diſturbance of the ſeaſons, but there was far from a ſufficient quantity for the nouriſhment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the Engliſh, who were engaged before hand to take proper care of their ſubſiſtence, as well as of the ſipahis belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazine a part of the grain, though the harveſt was inſufficient.

They have been accuſed of having made a very bad uſe of that neceſſary foreſight, in order to carry on the moſt odious and the moſt criminal of

all monopolies. It may be true that ſuch an infamous method of acquiring riches may have tempted ſome individuals; but that the chief agents of the company; that the council of Calcutta could have adopted and ordered ſuch a deſtructive ſcheme; that, to gain a few millions of rupees, the council ſhould coolly have devoted to deſtruction ſeveral millions of their fellow creatures, and by the moſt cruel means; this is a circumſtance we never can give credit to. We even venture to pronounce it impoſſible; becauſe ſuch wickedneſs could never enter at once into the minds and hearts of a ſet of men, whoſe buſineſs it is to deliberate and act for the good of others.

But ſtill this ſcourge did not fail to make itſelf felt throughout the extent of Bengal. Rice, which is commonly ſold at one ſol * for three pounds, has gradually been raiſed till it came ſo high as to be ſold at four ſols † per pound, and it has even been up to five or ſix ſols ‡; neither indeed was there any to be found, except in ſuch places where the Europeans had taken care to collect it for their own uſe.

The unhappy Indians were every day periſhing by thouſands under this want of ſuſtenance, without any means of help and without any reſource, not being able to procure themſelves the leaſt nouriſhment. They were to be ſeen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midſt of our European colonies, pale, meagre, fainting, emaciated,

* ½. † 2d. ‡ About 3d.

conſumed

conſumed by famine; ſome ſtretched on the ground in expectation of dying, others ſcarce able to drag themſelves on to ſeek for any nutriment, and throwing themſelves at the feet of the Europeans, intreating them to take them in as their ſlaves.

To this deſcription, which makes humanity ſhudder, let us add other objects equally ſhocking; let imagination enlarge upon them, if poſſible; let us repreſent to ourſelves infants deſerted, ſome expiring on the breaſt of their mothers; every where the dying and the dead mingled together; on all ſides the groans of ſorrow, and the tears of deſpair; and we ſhall then have ſome faint idea of the horrible ſpectacle Bengal preſented for the ſpace of ſix weeks.

DURING this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcaſes; the fields and highways were choaked up with them; infectious vapours filled the air, and diſeaſes multiplied; and one evil ſucceeding another, it was likely to happen, that the plague might have carried off the remainder of the inhabitants of that unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowledged, that the famine carried off a fourth part; that is to ſay, about three millions.

BUT it is ſtill more remarkable, and ſerves to characteriſe the gentleneſs, or rather the indolence, as well moral as natural, of the natives, that amidſt this terrible diſtreſs, ſuch a multitude of human creatures, preſſed by the moſt urgent of all neceſſities, remainded in an abſolute inactivity,

inactivity, and made no attempts whatever for their ſelf-preſervation. All the Europeans, eſpecially the Engliſh, were poſſeſſed of magazines, and even theſe were not touched; private houſes were ſo too; no revolt, no maſſacre, nor the leaſt violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, reſigned to deſpair, confined themſelves to the requeſt of ſuccour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death.

LET us now repreſent to ourſelves any part of Europe afflicted by a ſimilar calamity. What diſorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! what crimes would enſue! How ſhould we have ſeen among us Europeans, ſome contending for their food with their dagger in hand, ſome purſuing, ſome flying, and, without remorſe, maſſacreing one another! How ſhould we have ſeen men at laſt turn their rage on themſelves, tearing and devouring their own limbs, and, in the blindneſs of deſpair, trampling under foot all authority, as well as every ſentiment of nature and reaſon!

HAD it been the fate of the Engliſh to have had the like events to dread on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps, the famine would have been leſs general and leſs deſtructive. For ſetting aſide, as perhaps we ought, every charge of monopoly, no one will undertake to defend them againſt the reproach of negligence and inſenſibility. And in what criſis have they merited that reproach? In the very inſtant of time when the life or death of ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures was in their power. One

would think that, in ſuch alternative, the very love of human-kind, that ſentiment innate in all hearts, might have inſpired them with reſources. Might not the poor wretches expiring before the eyes of the Europeans with reaſon have cried out, "Is it "then but for our ruin that you are fertile in "expedients for your own preſervation? The im- "menſe treaſures which a long ſucceſſion of ages "had accumulated in this country, you have made "your own ſpoils; you have tranſported them into "your own country; you have raiſed your contribu- "tions on us; you have got your agents to receive "them for you; you are maſters of our inte- "rior commerce; you are the ſole managers of "all our exported merchandiſe; your numer- "ous veſſels laden with the produce of our in- "duſtry and our ſoil, paſs and repaſs to the en- "riching of your factories and your colonies. "All theſe things you regulate, and you carry "on ſolely for your own advantage. But what "have you done for our preſervation? What ſteps "have you taken to remove from us the ſcourge "that threatened us? Deprived of all autho- "rity, ſtripped of our property, weighed down "by the terrible hand of power, we can only "lift our hands to you to implore your aſſiſt- "ance. Ye have heard our groans; ye have "ſeen famine making very quick advances upon "us; and then ye attended to your own pre- "ſervation. Ye have hoarded up the ſmall quan- "tity of proviſions which eſcaped the peſtilence; "ye have filled your granaries with them, and

diſtributed

"distributed them among your soldiers. But we, "the sad dupes of your avarice, wretches in every "regard, as well by your tyranny as by your in- "difference, ye treat us like slaves, while you "suppose we have any riches; but when it ap- "pears we are but a set of beings full of wants, "then you no longer regard us even as human crea- "tures.' Of what service is it to us that you have "the management of our public forces entirely "in your hands? Where are the laws and the "morals of which ye are so proud? What then "is that government whose wisdom you so much "boast of? Have you put a stop to the pro- "digious exports made by your private traders? "Have ye changed the destination of your ships? "Have they traversed the neighbouring seas in "search of the means of subsistence for us? "Have ye requested it of the adjacent coun- "tries? Ah, why has Providence suffered you to "break the chain which attached us to our ancient "sovereigns? Less grasping, and more humane "than ye are, they would have invited plenty from "all parts of Asia; they would have opened every "communication; they would have lavished their "treasures, and have thought they did but enrich "themselves while they preserved their subjects."

This last reflection, at least, was calculated to make an impression on the English, supposing even that every sentiment of humanity was extinguished in their hearts by the effects of depravity. The barrenness had been announced by a drought; and it is not to be doubted, that, if instead

inſtead of having ſolely a regard to themſelves, and remaining in an entire negligence of every thing elſe, they had from the firſt taken every precaution in their power, they might have accompliſhed the preſervation of many lives that were loſt.

It could not happen otherwiſe, than that an adminiſtration ſo faulty in itſelf ſhould defeat the means of proſperity attached to the poſſeſſion of thoſe extenſive countries. The company, preſſed by real neceſſities, and finding only inſufficient reſources in thoſe treaſures which ſerve to dazzle their imagination, has already been obliged to tear aſide the veil which concealed their ſituation from the eyes of all the world. According to a calculation, authenticated on the firſt of January 1773, the total amount of the company's poſſeſſions in Europe, whether in arrears hereafter to be received, or in real merchandiſe now in their ſtore-houſes, or even in immoveables, comes to the ſum of 175,156,000 livres*: whereas their engagements amount to 207,430,000 livres†; ſo that there is a deficiency of 32,274,000 livres‡. It is true, that the means of the company in India, that is to ſay, their ſpecie in the cheſts of their different ſettlements, outſtanding debts due to them, the value of their wares, their civil and military preparations, their elephants, ſhips and their cargoes at ſea, form a capital of 143,939,000 livres‖. On the other hand, their debts are not leſs than the ſum of 45,726,000 livres§; ſo that upon the whole, of

* 7,663,075l. † 14,075,062l. 10s. ‡ 1,411,987l. 10s.
‖ 6,297,331l. 5s. § 2,000,462l. 10s.

their

their affairs in India, there is a balance in their favour of 98,213,000 livres *. From this muſt be deducted what the company owes in Europe, that is to ſay, 32,274,000 livres †, which reduces the ſum of the general account to 65,939,000 livres ‡; and as the amount of their ſtock is 72,000,000 livres ‖; it follows, that on their capital there is a real loſs of 6,061,000 livres §. So that, in caſe all the effects of the company, as well in Europe as in India, could be converted into money, a ſuppoſition extremely in their favour, the proprietors would not find their original depoſit. Doubtleſs it was not eaſy to ſuſpect their ſituation to be ſuch, when we find the ſales of the company have progreſſively riſen from 44,000,000 livres **, the amount of that in 1762, to 80,000,000 ††, according to the account of that of 1769. The trade of the company has been carried to ſuch a pitch, that the ſales for theſe laſt ten years, to 1771 incluſive, have produced the net ſum of 649,207,000 livres ‡‡. But is is neceſſary to remark, that during the above period the company paid for different duties, to which their goods are ſubject, to the amount of 170,665,000 livres ‖‖, that is more than five and twenty per cent. on the produce of the ſales. And ſtill this ſum, conſiderable as it is, is excluſive of an annual ſtipend of 9,000,000 livres §§; on which condition, government has given up to the company all territorial rights over Bengal.

* 3,798,068l. 15s. † 1,411,987l. 10s. ‡ 2,884,831l. 5s.
‖ 3,150,000l. § 265,168l. 15s. ** 1,925,000l.
†† 3,500,000l. ‡‡ 28,402,806l. 5s. ‖‖ 7,466,593l. 15s.
§§ 393,750l.

To

To make good engagements ſo extenſive, and to diſtribute at the ſame time to the proprietors a dividend of 9,000,000 livres*, at the rate of twelve and a half per cent. the revenues of India ought to have been managed with great prudence and œconomy: then they might have been ſufficient, as well for the purchaſes the company make in India, as for thoſe made in China, and they might have waved ſending any ſums to their ſmall factories. It was with this confidence that the proprietors of ſtock enjoyed quietly their dividend, and even expected it to be raiſed by the importation of money which had been announced to them. But ſo far was the event from anſwering their large expectations, that the company's agents at Bengal, Bombay, and Madraſs, have continually drawn upon them to make good the inſufficiency of the revenues. The draughts drawn by them during the laſt five years, viz. from 1768 to 1772, both incluſive, amount to the ſum of 49,250,000 livres†. Theſe draughts have made it unneceſſary to ſend out coin to India; but during the ſome period they have been obliged to remit to China the ſum of 20,000,000 livres‡. And even this remittance not having been anſwerable to the prodigious purchaſes made for the company at Canton, the factory there have been obliged to draw on them for 7,780,000 livres ‖. The company moreover, have exported to India, within the ſame time, as much as 60,140,000 livres § of merchandiſe; ſo that, bringing together all theſe ſums, it

* 393,750l. † 2,154,687l. 10s. ‡ 875,000l.
‖ 340,875l. § 2,631,125l.

appears,

appears, that during theſe five years, which ſeemed likely to be the period of their greateſt proſperity, the company, whether by exportations abroad, or by draughts paid in Europe, has employed in trade 137,590,000 livres*, which makes the ſum of 27,515,000 livres† *communibus annis*. However, notwithſtanding this prodigious difference between the ſpeculations and the real tranſactions, if the revenues of Bengal had not been ſubject to depredations perhaps unparalleled, the company might have been enabled to ſupport with eaſe all their expences, and ſtill continue a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. to the ſtockholders. The proof of this will appear in the abſtract of their commerce, calculated upon the receipts and diſburſements of the laſt years, on the experience of which it may be proper to ground our opinion of the actual ſtate of things.

RECEIPT.

	Livres.
Produce of their ſales, deducting diſcount,	78,750,000‡
Produce of duties for the benefit of the company laid on private trade - -	560,000‖
Value of 500 tons of ſaltpetre wanted annually for the army - - - - -	500,000§
Total	79,810,000**

* 6,019,562l. 10s. † 1,203,781l. ‡ 3,445,312l. 10s.
‖ 24,500l. § 21,875l. ** 3,447,937l. 10s.

DISBURSE-

DISBURSEMENTS.

	Livres.
Amount of duties - - - - - -	20,250,000 §
Freight and charges out - - - -	11,250,000 *
Value of goods annually exported -	11,250,000 †
Amount of bullion exported to China, and of the draughts the factory there draws annually on the company -	4,500,000 ‡
The impoſt of five per cent. on the rough produce of the annual ſales, ſet at eighty-four millions -	4,200,000 ‖
Bills of exchange taken from different parts of India - - - - - -	8,080,000 §§
Annual ſtipend to be paid to government on account of Bengal -	9,000,000 **
Annual dividend on the footing of twelve and a half per cent. per annum	9,000,000 ††
Intereſt of bills beyond what the company receives of government -	1,120,000 ‡‡
Total	78,650,000 ‖‖

If, from the amount of the receipt ſtated at 79,810,000, livres §§, we deduct the latter ſum of 78,650,000 livres ***, the ſurplus of the receipt will be 1,160,000 livres †††.

This ſtate, the ſeveral articles of which having undergone the inſpection of parliament cannot be called in queſtion, ſerves to ſhew, that, even ſuppoſing a wiſer adminiſtration, both at home and in India, the proprietors had no reaſon to expect any

§ 885,937l. 10s. * 492,187l. 10s. † 492,187l. 10s.
‡ 196,875l. ‖ 183,750l. §§ 353,500l.
** 393,750l. †† 393,750l. ‡‡ 49,000l.
‖‖ 3,440,937l. 10s. §§ 3,491,687l. 10s. *** 3,440,937l. 10s.
††† 50,750l.

BOOK III.

advantage beyond the dividend of twelve and a half per cent. which had been fixed for them.

BUT, if we aſcend from the particular intereſt of the trading company to conſiderations of more extent, what reſources, what advantages, does not the commerce of India procure to the ſtate? The amount of duties on the company's importations, the impoſt of five per cent. on the groſs produce of their ſales, the ſtipend exacted by government on account of Bengal, form a tribute of 33,450,000 livres * paid annually to Great Britain out of the commerce and poſſeſſions of Aſia. And ſo long as the public treaſure, aſſiſted by this new branch of revenue, turns it to the improvement of the power and proſperity of the kingdom, the annual maſs of riches is ſtill increaſed by the exports of the company's merchandiſe; by the charges of their navigation; by the benefit of the dividend at eight and a half above the common intereſt; by the draughts they pay, ſince theſe draughts are the repreſentatives of the fortunes made by their agents in their ſervice, and which they return home to enjoy. All theſe articles brought together conſtitute nearly a total of 40,000,000 livres †, expended on the commerce of India to the advantage of the land and manufactures of England: and yet this ſum of 40,000,000 livres ‡, together with the other of 33,450,000 livres §, received by the government, requires no more than an export of 2, or 300,000 in bullion ‖. Thus the public

* 1,463,437l. 10s. † 1,750,000l. ‡ 1,750,000l.
§ 1,463,437l. 10s. ‖ About 109,000l. on an average.

treaſury and the kingdom are equally enriched by the produce of a commerce, which, by the effect of a moſt extraordinary management, threatens with ruin the very proprietors who farm it out to their agents.

It is eaſy to judge from the ſketch juſt given, that for a long time they muſt ſacrifice their dividends to clear away entirely that deficiency of 32,000,000 livres *, which has taken place in their affairs in Europe. But what will be attended with ſtill more difficulty will be, to revive in India the order and œconomy neceſſary for diſcharging the debt of 45,000,000 livres † contracted there on the company's account.

We muſt allow that the corruption to which the Engliſh have given themſelves up from the firſt beginning of their power, the oppreſſion which has ſucceeded it, the abuſes every day multiplying, the entire loſs of all principle; all theſe circumſtances together form a contraſt totally inconſiſtent with their paſt conduct in India, and the real conſtitution of their government in Europe. But this ſort of problem in morals will be eaſily ſolved, upon conſidering with attention the natural effect of circumſtances and events.

Being now become abſolute rulers in an empire where they were but traders, it was very difficult for the Engliſh not to make a bad uſe of their power. At a diſtance from home, men are no longer reſtrained by the fear of being aſhamed to ſee their countrymen. In a warm climate where

* 1,400,000l. † 1,968,750l.

the body loſes its vigour, the mind muſt loſe ſome of its ſtrength. In a country where nature and cuſtom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be ſeduced. In countries where they come for the purpoſe of growing rich, they eaſily forget to be juſt.

Perhaps, however, in a ſituation ſo dangerous, the Engliſh would at leaſt have preſerved ſome appearance of moderation and virtue, had they been checked by the reſtraint of the laws: but there were none to direct or to bind them. The regulations made by the company, for the carrying on of their commerce, were not applicable to this new arrangement of affairs; and the Engliſh government, conſidering the conqueſt of Bengal but as a help towards increaſing numerically the revenue of Great Britain, gave up to the company for 9,000,000 livres* per annum the deſtiny of twelve millions of people.

Happily for this portion of our fellow-creatures, a revolution of a peaceable nature *is* at hand. The nation has been ſtruck with ſuch enormous exceſſes. She has heard the groans of ſuch a number of victims ſacrificed to the avarice and paſſions of ſome individuals. The parliament is already employed on this great object. Every detail of that adminiſtration is under their inſpection, every fact will be cleared up, every abuſe unveiled, and the reaſons of them inquired into and removed. What a ſight to be preſented to Europe! What an example to be left to

* 393,750l.

poſterity!

poſterity! The hand of liberty is going to weigh the deſtiny of a whole people in the ſcale of juſtice.

YES, auguſt legiſlators, ye will make good our expectations! Ye will reſtore mankind to their rights; ye will put a curb on avarice, and break the yoke of tyranny. The authority of law, which is not to be ſhaken, will every where take place of an adminiſtration purely arbitrary. At ſight of that authority, the monopoliſt, that tyrant over induſtry, will for ever diſappear. The fetters which private intereſt has riveted on commerce, ye will make to give way to general advantage.

YOU will not confine yourſelves to this momentary reformation. You will carry your views into futurity; you will calculate the influence of climate, the danger of circumſtances, the contagion of example; and, to prevent their effects, you will ſelect perſons without connexions, without paſſions, to viſit theſe diſtant countries; iſſuing from the boſom of your metropolis, they are to paſs through theſe provinces, in order to hear complaints, rectify abuſes, redreſs injuries; in a word, to maintain and reunite the ties of order throughout the country.

BY the execution of this ſalutary plan, you will, without doubt, have done much towards the happineſs of theſe people; but not enough for your own honour. One prejudice you have ſtill to conquer, and that victory is worthy of yourſelves. Venture to put your new ſubjects into a ſituation to enjoy the ſweets of property.

Portion out to them the fields on which they were born: they will learn to cultivate them for themſelves. Attached to you by theſe favours, more than ever they were by fear, they will pay with joy the tribute you impoſe with moderation. They will inſtruct their children to adore, and admire your government; and ſucceſſive generations will tranſmit down, with their inheritance, the ſentiments of their happineſs mixed with that of their gratitude.

THEN ſhall the friends of mankind applaud your ſucceſs; they will indulge the hope of ſeeing proſperity once more revive in a country embelliſhed by nature, and no longer ravaged by deſpotiſm. It will be pleaſing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted thoſe fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will pardon in you thoſe uſurpations, which have been only ſet on foot for the ſake of deſpoiling tyrants; and they will invite you to new conqueſts, when they ſee the influence of your excellent conſtitution of government extending itſelf even to the very extremities of Aſia, to give birth to liberty, property, and happineſs.

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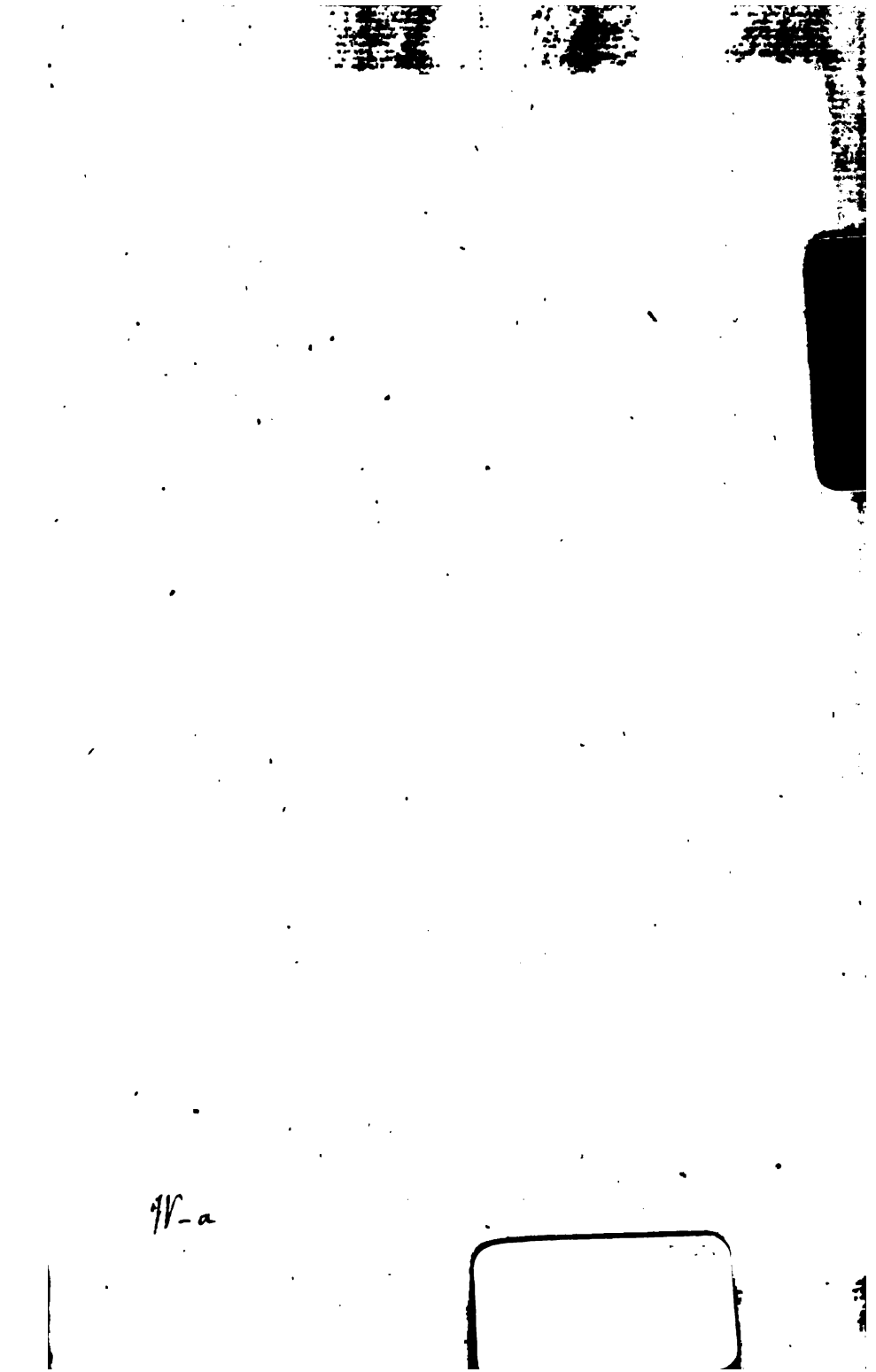

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